

Exhibit 14
Date 8/26/14
Melody Campbell, CSR

IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF COLE COUNTY
STATE OF MISSOURI

KATHLEEN WEINSCHENK,
WILLIAM KOTTERMAYER, ROBERT
PUND, AMANDA MULLANEY,
RICHARD VON GLAHN, MAUDIE
MAE HUGHES, and GIVE
MISSOURIANS A RAISE, INC.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

STATE OF MISSOURI, and
ROBIN CARNAHAN, SECRETARY
OF STATE,

Defendants.

No. 06AC-CC00656

Division 2

PL1148
9/2/2014
2:13-cv-000193

JACKSON COUNTY, MISSOURI, et
al.,

Plaintiffs,

v.

STATE OF MISSOURI,

Defendant.

CONSOLIDATED WITH

No. 06AC-CC00587

Division 2

AFFIDAVIT OF JEFFREY MILYO,
IN SUPPORT OF INTERVENORS, DALE L. MORRIS AND
MISSOURI SENATOR DELBERT SCOTT

COMES NOW Jeffrey Milyo, and having been sworn on his oath, deposes and states as follows:

1. I am over 21 years of age and competent to make this Affidavit. If called as a witness in this action, I could testify to the matters contained in this affidavit from personal knowledge and would testify as set forth herein.

2. I am currently an associate professor of public affairs and economics at the University of Missouri in Columbia and I have attached a current and accurate summary of my academic and professional experience which is attached as Exhibit "A".

3. I have had occasion to review and am familiar with the provisions of the Missouri Voter Protection Act in its final enacted form, especially as such provisions concern the requirement that certain persons present the specified forms of identification before casting a ballot and also those provisions of the Missouri Voter Protection Act providing photo identification without cost.

4. I have collaborated with L. Marvin Overby and conducted additional research into the effect of the photo identification requirements contained in the Missouri Voter Protection Act upon voter participation. I have further researched the effect that such photo identification requirements will have upon the ability of Missourians to participate in an election.

5. The conclusions that I have reached and a description of the analysis undertaken are summarized on the report attached to this affidavit as Exhibit "B".

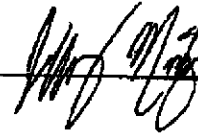
6. My research into the Missouri Voter Protection Act and the voter identification requirements and related provisions contained therein supports three essential conclusions.

A. Our best estimate of the number of eligible Missouri voters that do not possess a Missouri Department of Revenue-issued photo ID and that are not residents of a facility licensed under chapter 198 is about 19,000 persons. Of these, about 6,000 are likely to desire a photo ID for the purpose of voting, based upon historic voter participation patterns.

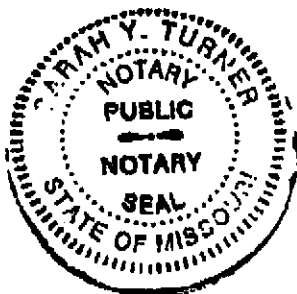
- B. The existing scholarly literature strongly suggests that voter photo ID requirements are not likely to have a significant effect on either voter participation or the outcome of elections, nor is such a photo ID requirement likely to have a significant or differential impact on poor, less educated or minority voters.
- C. The existing scholarly literature does demonstrate that a significant percentage of citizens -- in Missouri and nationally -- lack confidence on the election process, a significant percentage of voters are concerned about vote fraud, and that significant majorities of voters from all political parties and racial groups support the requirement that a person provide a government-issued photo ID before casting a ballot.

FURTHER Affiant sayeth not.

Jeffrey Milyo



Subscribed and sworn to before me this 30 day of August, 2006.



Notary Public



SARAH Y. TURNER
Notary Public - State of Missouri
County of Boone
My Commission Expires Feb. 5, 2008

Jeffrey Milyo
Associate Professor of Economics and Public Affairs
University of Missouri

ADDRESS

University of Missouri, 118 Professional Building, Columbia, MO 65211
Phone: (573) 882-7785; Fax: (573) 882-2697
Email: milyoj at missouri dot edu; <http://www.missouri.edu/~milyoj/>

EDUCATION

Stanford University, Ph.D. in Economics with a minor in Business, 1994

University of Connecticut, B.A. and M.A., *summa cum laude*, in Economics, 1986

PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYMENT

University of Missouri, Department of Economics and Truman School of Public Affairs;
Associate Professor, 2004-

University of Chicago, Harris School of Public Policy; Assistant Professor, 2000-04

Tufts University, Department of Economics, Assistant Professor, 1994-2000

AFFILIATIONS

Senior Fellow, Cato Institute, Washington, D.C., 2006-

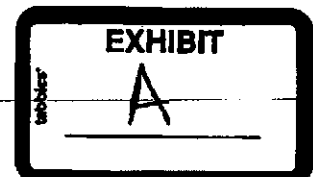
Research Affiliate, Center for Applied Economics, University of Kansas School of Business,
2006-

Academic Advisor, Center for Competitive Politics, Washington, D.C., 2006-

Center for Health Policy, University of Missouri, 2006-

Joint Center for Poverty Research, University of Chicago; 2000-2004

August 2006



RESEARCH GRANTS

University of Missouri Research Board, 2005-2006; "The Effects of Social Capital on the Well-Being of Young Adults" (PI; \$20,000)

Robert Wood Johnson, Substance Abuse Policy Research Program, 2004-2005; "Estimating the Effects of Political Contributions on State Alcohol and Tobacco Policies," with Myoung Lee (Co-PI; \$17,500)

Robert Wood Johnson, Substance Abuse Policy Research Program, 2004-2005; "The Effects of State Campaign Finance Reforms on Tax Policy toward Alcohol and Tobacco," with Jeff Kubik and John Moran (PI; \$40,000)

National Science Foundation, 2003-2005; "A Theoretical and Empirical Investigation of the Returns to Legislative Oversight," with Sean Gailmard. (\$181,525; PI)

Cultural Policy Center, University of Chicago, 2003; "Social Capital and Support for the Arts" (PI; \$5,000)

Tufts University, Faculty Research Fund, 1998-1999; "Electoral Effects of Incumbent Wealth" (PI; \$1,000)

HONORS AND AWARDS

Hanna Family Scholar, Center for Applied Economics, University of Kansas, 2006-

Gordon Moore Visiting Scholar, Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research, Stanford University, July 2006

Gerson-Lehrman Group Scholar, Gerson-Lehrman Group, Washington, D.C., 2005.

Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellow, Institute for Social and Policy Studies, Yale University, 1997-1998

Salvatori Fellow, Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., June 1997.

Harvard-MIT Political Economy Fellow, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1996-1997

Named one of the best teachers at Tufts University by *Choosing the Right College*, Intercollegiate Studies Institute (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing: Grand Rapids, MI), 2000

Named one of the 10 best teachers at Tufts University by *The Primary Source* (an undergraduate student publication), 1996

PUBLICATIONS

JOURNAL ARTICLES:

- (24) "Estimating the Impact of State Policies and Institutions with Mixed-Level Data," with David Primo and Matthew Jacobsmeier; *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* (forthcoming).
- (23) "A Social Science Perspective on Media Bias," with Tim Groseclose; *Critical Review*, 17:3-4: 305-314.
- (22) "Induced Heterogeneity in Trust Experiments," with Lisa Anderson and Jennifer Mellor; *Experimental Economics*, 9:223-235.
- (21) "Campaign Finance Laws and Political Efficacy: Evidence from the States," (2006) with David Primo; *Election Law Journal*, 5(1): 23-39.
- (20) "A Measure of Media Bias," (2005) with Tim Groseclose; *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 120(4):1191-1237 [lead article].
- (19) "State Social Capital and Individual Health Status," (2005) with Jennifer Mellor; *Journal of Health Politics Policy and Law*, 30(6): 1101-1130.
- (18) "Social Capital and Contributions in a Public Goods Experiment," (2004) with Lisa Anderson and Jennifer Mellor; *American Economic Review (Papers and Proceedings)*, 94(2): 373-376.
- (17) "Individual Health Status and Minority Racial Concentration in U.S. States and Counties," (2004) with Jennifer Mellor; *American Journal of Public Health*, 94(6): 1043-1048.
- (16) "On the Importance of Age-Adjustment Methods in Ecological Studies of Social Determinants of Mortality," (2003) with Jennifer Mellor; *Health Services Research* 38(6.2): 1781-1790.
- (15) "Is Exposure to Income Inequality a Public Health Concern? Lagged Effects of Income Inequality on Individual and Population Health," (2003) with Jennifer Mellor; *Health Services Research* 38(1.1) 137-151.
- (14) "Income Inequality and Health Status in the United States: Evidence from the Current Population Survey," (2002) with Jennifer Mellor; *Journal of Human Resources*, 37(3): 510-539.
- (13) "Income Inequality and Health," (2001) with Jennifer Mellor; *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 20(1): 151-155.

- (12) "Re-Examining the Ecological Association Between Income Inequality and Health," (2001) with Jennifer Mellor; *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 26(3): 485-518 [lead article].
- (11) "What Do Candidates Maximize (and Why Should Anyone Care)?" (2001); *Public Choice*, 109(1/2): 119-139.
- (10) "A Problem with Euclidean Preferences in Spatial Models of Politics," (2000); *Economics Letters*, 66(2): 179-182.
- (9) "Logical Deficiencies of Spatial Models: A Constructive Critique," (2000); *Public Choice*, 105(3/4): 273-289.
- (8) "Gender Bias and Selection Bias in House Elections," (2000) with Samantha Schosberg; *Public Choice*, 105(1/2): 41-59.
- (7) "Corporate PAC Campaign Contributions in Perspective," (2000) with Tim Groseclose and David Primo; *Business and Politics*, 2(1): 75-88.
- (6) "Is Income Inequality Bad for Your Health," (2000) with Jennifer Mellor; *Critical Review*, 13(3/4): 359-372.
- (5) "The Effects of Price Advertising on Prices: Evidence from 44 Liquormart," (1999) with Joel Waldfogel; *American Economic Review*, 89(5): 1081-1096. Reprinted in *The Economics of Advertising*. Edited by Kyle Bagwell. Edward Elgar Publishing: London.
- (4) "The Electoral Effects of Incumbent Wealth," (1999) with Tim Groseclose; *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 42(2): 699-722.
- (3) "The Political Economics of Campaign Finance," (1999); *The Independent Review*, 3(4): 537-548.
- (2) "The Economics of Political Campaign Finance: FECA and the Puzzle of the Not Very Greedy Grandfathers," (1997); *Public Choice*, 93: 245-270.
- (1) "Electoral and Financial Effects of Changes in Committee Power: Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, the Tax Reform Act of 1986, and the Money Committees in the House," (1997); *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 40(1): 93-112.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO EDITED VOLUMES:

- (4) "State Campaign Finance Reforms, Competitiveness and Party Advantage in Gubernatorial Elections," (2006) with Tim Groseclose and David Primo; in *The Marketplace of Democracy*. Michael McDonald and John Samples, Editors. (Brookings Institution and Cato Institute: Washington, DC).
- (3) "Campaign Finance," (forthcoming); in the *Concise Encyclopedia of Economics*, 2nd Edition. D. Henderson, Editor. Liberty Press (Indianapolis, IN).
- (2) "Do Liberals Play Nice? The Effects of Political Party and Ideology in Public Goods and Trust Games," (2005), with Lisa Anderson and Jennifer Mellor; in *Advances in Applied Microeconomics: Experimental and Behavioral Economics*. John Morgan, Editor. (JAI Press: Stamford, Connecticut).
- (1) "Reform without Reason: the Scientific Method and Campaign Finance," (2005) with David Primo; in *Taxpayer Financing of Political Campaigns*. John Samples, Ed. Cato Institute: Washington, DC.

COMMENTS, COMMUNICATION AND REVIEWS:

- (6) "On the Use of Age-Adjusted Mortality Rates in Studies of Income Inequality and Population Health," (2002) with Jennifer Mellor; *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 27(2): 293-296.
- (5) "Bribes and Fruit Baskets: What Does the Link Between PAC Contributions and Lobbying Mean?" (2002); *Business and Politics*, 4(2): 157-160.
- (4) "Exploring the Relationships Between Income Inequality, Socioeconomic Status, and Health: A Self-Guided Tour?," (2002) with Jennifer Mellor; *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 31(3):685-687
- (3) "Income Distribution, Socioeconomic Status and Self-Rated Health in the United States," (1999); *British Medical Journal*, 318: 1417.
- (2) Review of Brown, Powell and Wilcox, *Serious Money: Fundraising and Contributing in Presidential Nomination Campaigns* (1997), *Political Science Quarterly*, 112(2): 321.
- (1) Review of Alesina and Rosenthal, *Partisan Politics, Divided Government, and the Economy*, (1996), *Journal of Politics*, 58:559-561.

POLICY REPORTS:

- (4) "Public Financing of Campaigns," (2006) Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies (Washington, DC).
- (3) "Social Capital and Support for Public Funding of the Arts," (2004); Cultural Policy Center, University of Chicago.
- (2) "What Does Academic Research Tell Us About the Role of Money in American Politics?" (2002); Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies (Washington, DC).
- (1) "The Electoral Effects of Campaign Spending in House Elections," (1998); Citizens' Research Foundation: Los Angeles.

SELECTED WORKING PAPERS:

- (10) "Inequality and Public Good Provision: An Experimental Analysis," with Lisa Anderson and Jennifer Mellor; under review at *Journal of Socio-Economics* (first revision).
 - (9) "A Rational-Choice Formal-Theoretic Argument Against the Existence of Sophisticated Voting in Legislatures," with Tim Groseclose; under review at the *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*.
 - (8) "Did the Devil Make Them Do It? The Effects of Religion and Religiosity in Public Goods and Trust Games," with Lisa Anderson and Jennifer Mellor; under review at *Public Choice*.
 - (7) "The Effects of State Campaign Finance Laws on Voter Turnout, 1950-2000," with David Primo; under revision.
 - (6) "Sex, Power and Money: Market Reaction to a Political Scandal, with Scott Smart.
 - (5) "Long-Run Effects of Price Advertising on Prices," with Joel Waldfogel; under revision.
 - (4) "Policy Consequences of State Campaign Finance Reforms: Evidence from Excise Taxes on Alcohol and Tobacco," with Jeff Kubik and John Moran.
 - (3) "Political Determinants of State Medicaid Generosity," with Reagan Baughman.
 - (2) "Political Economics of Legislative Oversight," with Sean Gailmard.
 - (1) "An Economic Approach to Social Capital: Lessons from Game Theory and Experimental Economics," with Lisa Anderson and Jennifer Mellor.
-

INVITED PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS:

1994-95: Public Choice Society, Harvard University, Midwest Political Science Assoc. and MIT

1995-96: Midwest Political Science Assoc., Harvard University, University of Connecticut

1996-97: American Economics Assoc., Public Choice Society, Midwest Political Science Assoc., Institute for Humane Studies, Ohio State University, MIT, Georgia State University.

1997-98: Trinity College, Yale University, Public Choice Society, Midwest Political Science Assoc., Tufts University, American Law and Economics Assoc., Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Conference and National Bureau of Economic Research Summer Workshop.

1998-99: American Political Science Assoc., George Mason University, William and Mary, Harvard University, Stanford University, Yale University, UC-Berkeley, University of Chicago, Public Choice Society, Bowdoin College, Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Conference, and National Bureau of Economic Research Summer Workshop.

1999-2000: University of Rochester, University of Delaware, Syracuse University, Carnegie Mellon University, Claremont-McKenna College, American Economics Assoc., University of Chicago and American University.

2000-2001: Dartmouth College, Midwest Political Science Assoc., Public Choice Society and University of Chicago.

2001-2002: American Enterprise Institute, Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Midwest Political Science Assoc. and University of Michigan.

2002-2003: American Economics Assoc., Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Midwest Political Science Assoc., Naval Postgraduate School and the Public Choice Society.

2003-2004: American Economics Assoc., American Political Science Assoc., Midwest Political Science Assoc., University of Minnesota, University of Missouri, Vanderbilt University, University of Virginia, Williams College and Yale University.

2004-2005: American Economics Assoc., American Political Science Assoc., Brigham Young University, University of Connecticut, and Washington University.

2005-2006: American Economics Association, Cato-Brookings, George Mason University, Midwest Political Science Association, University of Kansas, University of Kentucky, University of Missouri, University of Wisconsin.

MEDIA APPEARANCES

INTERVIEWS AND CITATIONS:

I have been interviewed or cited in connection with my scholarly research and as a policy expert more than 50 times in the major electronic and print media. Most recent electronic media appearances include interview segments on Fox News and MSNBC, and citations to my research on CNN, CSPAN, FOX News, National Public Radio and the *Drudge Report*. Major newspaper and news magazine citations include the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *USA Today*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Boston Globe*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, *Detroit News*, the *Rocky Mountain News*, the *Washington Monthly*, the *Investors' Business Daily*, *Business Week*, *National Review*, the *Weekly Standard*, the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, *Human Events* and *The New Criterion*.

OPINION ESSAYS:

- (8) "The High Court, Hoodwinked on Finance Data," (2006) with David Primo; *Roll Call*, June 15.
- (7) "Contribution Limits Silence Missouri Voters," (2006) with John Samples; *Columbia Daily Tribune*, June 13.
- (6) "Clean Elections Offer False Hope," (2005); *Connecticut Post*, February 20: p. B2.
- (5) "The Political Process Works," (2002); *USAToday*, October 2: p. 19A.
- (4) "Not Enough of a Good Thing," (2001); *Chicago Sun Times*, January 26: p. 39.
- (3) "Reform the Debate," (1999); *IntellectualCapital.Com*, September 9-16.
- (2) "Money Walks: Why Campaign Contributions Aren't as Corrupting as You Think," (1997); *Reason*, 29(3): 47-49. Reprinted in *Stand! American Government* (2000). Edited by Denise Scheberle. Coursewise Publishing, Inc.: Madison, WI.
- (1) "Lost Shepard," (1996) with Tim Groseclose; *The American Spectator*, 29(4): 55.

**Report on Kathleen Weinschenk et al. v. State of Missouri et
al. and Jackson County, Missouri v. State of Missouri
(Consolidated)**

Jeffrey Milyo
University of Missouri

and

Marvin Overby
University of Missouri

August 30, 2006

We have been asked by legal counsel in this case to i) evaluate the report by the Missouri Department of Revenue (DOR fiscal note 4947-01) on the number of eligible voters in Missouri who may not have a photo ID, ii) to discuss what the relevant scholarly literature implies about the effects of a photo ID requirement, and iii) to review the statistical analysis prepared by Dr. John Lott on the potential impact of the state of Missouri's new photo ID requirements on voter turnout.

A summary of the basic findings is as follows:

- 1) The DOR fiscal note likely overstates the number of eligible voters in Missouri without a photo ID. Our best estimate of the number of eligible voters who do not possess a DOR-issued photo ID and are not residents under chapter 198 is about 19,000 persons; of these, about 6,000 are likely to desire a photo ID for the purpose of voting, based upon voter turnout patterns. Adding in persons who are residents under chapter 198 and may be eligible to apply for a no cost nondriver license brings this number up to about 8,000 persons.
- 2) The existing scholarly literature does not examine photo ID laws, but existing findings strongly suggest that voter photo identification requirements are not likely to have a significant effect on either voter turnout or the outcome of elections, nor is such a requirement likely to have a significant or differential impact on poor, less educated, or minority voters. Moreover, a review of survey data shows strong public support for photo IDs, indicating the probability that such requirements would enhance public confidence in the voting process and, perhaps, even increase voter turnout.
- 3) Dr. Lott's analysis employs appropriate data and statistical methods; his findings accord with the relevant scholarly literature on voter turnout. Lott's analysis is the best existing estimate of the likely impact of the new photo ID law on eligible voters in Missouri.



In the next section, we report on our qualifications. We then review the DOR fiscal note, the scholarly literature and the report by Dr. Lott, in turn.

1. Qualifications

Dr. Jeffrey Milyo is an associate professor in both the Truman School of Public Affairs and the Department of Economics at the University of Missouri in Columbia, Missouri. Dr. Milyo has been on the faculty of the Harris School of Public Policy at the University of Chicago, and has been a visiting scholar at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Yale University, and most recently, Stanford University. Milyo identifies himself as a Republican; his *curriculum vitae* is included in Appendix A.

Dr. Milyo's research specialty is in the area of statistical analyses of American political economy; his work has been published in a number of leading peer-reviewed journals, including, the *American Economic Review*, the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, the *Journal of Law and Economics*, the *Journal of Public Policy Analysis and Management*, the *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* and the *Election Law Journal*. He frequently serves as a peer-reviewer for the leading journals in economics and political science, including the *American Political Science Review*, the *American Journal of Political Science*, the *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* and the *Journal of Politics*.

Dr. Marvin Overby is a professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Missouri in Columbia, Missouri. He has also served on the faculties of Loyola University-Chicago and the University of Mississippi, and has held visiting appointments at the University of Szeged (Hungary) and the Johns Hopkins University-Nanjing University Center for Chinese and American Studies (China). Overby identifies himself as a Democrat and has worked for a Democratic member of the U. S. of Representatives; his *curriculum vitae* is included in Appendix A.

Dr. Overby's research focuses on statistical analyses of American politics, including issues of minority representation. His research has been published in a number of leading peer-reviewed journals, including the *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *The Journal of Politics*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *American Politics Research*, *Polity*, *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, and the *Journal of Legislative Studies*. He regularly reviews manuscripts for these journals, and his work and opinions have been cited in such media outlets as *The Wall Street Journal*, the *Washington Post*, *The Boston Globe*, the *National Journal*, the *Economist*, and *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*.

2. DOR Fiscal Note 4947-01

The Missouri Department of Revenue prepared a fiscal note estimating the anticipated cost of SB 1014 and undertook to estimate the number of eligible voters in Missouri who may be without photo ID as of June 14, 2006. (A copy of the fiscal note is attached as Appendix B.) The DOR fiscal note is an estimate of the cost of SB 1014 under a version of the legislation that was prior to the amendment providing an exemption from the photo

identification requirement for voters born before 1941. This analysis of the legislation prior to the incorporation of the exemption means that the version of the DOR's estimate of costs and voters likely affected by the ID requirements will be greater than those actually affected by the law as enacted.

The DOR started with the U.S. Census estimate of voting age population (VAP) in Missouri in 2000, then subtracted the number of persons who were at least 23 years of age as of 2006 and had a DOR-issued photo ID. This latter figure is 3,998,304 persons; it is meant to be an estimate of the number of persons age 18 and older in 2000 with photo ID's; however, this method ignores out-migration of younger persons and in-migration of older persons. It is unknown how these different sources of undercount and overcount net out. Further this estimate requires a projection of the photo-ID holding populations 5 years removed from the Census count. In general, the more distant the projected year from the base year, the less reliable will be any such projection.

As an alternative method of calculating the number of eligible voters not holding a DOR-issued photo ID, we prefer to make only a one-year out projection of VAP in 2006, and to utilize DOR's actual count of persons holding DOR photo ID on August 10, 2006.

On August 4, 2006 the U.S. census released its most current estimate of VAP in Missouri as of July 1, 2005; that figure is 4,422,078 persons.¹ However, this figure needs to be adjusted to match the August 10, 2006 date of the DOR count of persons with photo ID. We accomplish this by applying the annual growth rate from July 2004 to July 2005, which is approximately 0.0178, to yield an estimate of state VAP as of July 2006. We then pro-rate the annual growth rate to update this estimate to August 10, 2006; the resulting estimate of Missouri VAP is 4,509,790 persons. Subtracting the 4,458,726 persons known to hold DOR-issued photo ID as of August 10, 2006, yields an estimate of 51,064 voting age persons without DOR-issued photo-ID.

The DOR estimates that 31,152 VAP persons without photo-ID are also "residents under chapter 198 who are not likely to be physically able to ambulate to a polling place." Of these persons, the DOR estimates that 2,077 will apply for a no cost non-driver license. We have no basis to dispute this estimate, so we adopt this DOR figure without amendment.

Given the above, the number of VAP who are *not* residents under chapter 198 *and* do not possess DOR-issued photo ID's is (51,064 less 31,152), or 19,912 persons.

However, voting age population (VAP) overstates the voting eligible population (VEP) because it includes non-citizens, currently disenfranchised felons, persons who do not meet state residency requirements, and persons deemed mentally incompetent. For this reason, political scientists employ estimates of voting eligible state populations that exclude such ineligible voters; the best estimates of VEP that we know of are from the US Election Project and have been developed by Dr. Michael McDonald at George

¹ <http://www.census.gov/popest/datasets.html>

Mason University in Fairfax, VA.² The estimated VEP from this source corrects for non-citizens and disenfranchised felons only.

Based on the most current US Election Project data for 2006, the average ratio of VEP to VAP is approximately 0.97 (it is lower in earlier years); so we multiply 19,912 persons by this ratio, to yield an estimate of 19,315 voting eligible persons without photo-ID and not residents under chapter 198. Even so, this figure certainly overstates the number of such persons who would choose to vote, even absent the photo ID requirement.

For this reason, the DOR fiscal note adjusts its estimate downward by assuming that the state-wide average voter turnout rate of 50% (based on VAP) is a proxy for the proportion of persons who would desire a photo ID under the new requirements for the purposes of voting. Applying this adjustment to the VAP of persons without DOR-issued photo ID and not residents under chapter 198, leaves just 9,956 such persons whom we estimate would desire a photo ID in order to vote.

However, the population of individuals that does not possess a DOR-issued photo ID is typically assumed to be poor, less educated, and disproportionately composed of racial and ethnic minorities. It is well known in political science research that after correcting for income and education, race has little impact on voter turnout. For this reason, we focus on the lowest quintile of family income or persons without a high school education. Both of these groups exhibit turnout rates in the range of 30%-40% of VAP.³ Taking the midpoint of this range (*i.e.*, 35%) and multiplying it by the VAP not possessing DOR-issued photo ID and not resident under chapter 198 leaves just 6,969 persons.

Even this final estimate of just under 7,000 persons is likely to be an overestimate. We have not taken into consideration that some small number of these persons will not meet residency requirements or that some small number may be mentally incompetent. Further, we have not considered that those persons without photo ID may be disproportionately likely to be non-citizens or disenfranchised felons, or may have even lower turnout rates than the lowest quintile of family income earners. In addition, some fraction of these persons will already possess a military ID, passport, or some other government-issued photo ID (which are not accounted for in the DOR figures) and would not require any additional identification in order to vote.

Further, approximately 13.5% of Missourians are over age 65;⁴ in 2006, persons age 65 and older may cast a provisional ballot without a photo ID. Therefore, as many as 941 persons (13.5% of 6,969) may feel no urgent need to obtain a new photo ID; this leaves about 6,028 persons who may be expected to desire a photo ID.

² <http://elections.gmu.edu/>

³ Authors' calculation from Highton, Benjamin (2005). "Self-reported versus proxy-reported turnout in the Current Population Survey," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 69(1): 113-123; also, Wilson, James Q. and John J. DiIulio (2004). *American Government*. Houghton-Mifflin (Boston: MA).

⁴ Census 2000 Summary File 1 (SF 1) 100-Percent Data

Given this analysis, and adding back the DOR estimate of 2,077 persons who are residents under chapter 198 and may apply for a photo ID, we conclude that an upper-bound estimate for the number of persons who are eligible and may choose to obtain a new photo ID is 8,105 persons.

Recent news reports suggest that 1,400 persons have already received photo ID's from the DOR.⁵ Given that this rate may increase as the election draws closer, the running count to date is reasonably in line with our estimate — and stands in stark contrast to claims that hundreds of thousands of voters will need to obtain a photo ID. Such claims appear to be without a sound foundation.

2. Review of the Scholarly Literature

There are no systematic statistical studies of the effects of photo ID requirements for voting. This is despite the fact that most other countries both require such identification and experience higher rates of turnout than seen in the U.S. Comparative studies of voter turnout across countries focus on voter registration, the frequency of elections, non-compulsory voting, and single-member districts (as opposed to proportional representation) as reasons that turnout in the U.S. is low relative to other developed democracies.⁶ The fact that such cross country studies do not even entertain the possibility that photo ID requirements reduce turnout is itself informative about the opinion of the profession regarding the likely unimportance of such laws for turnout.

There are many studies that analyze the effects of other voting institutions on turnout. In general this literature finds modest effects of post-registration laws (e.g., time off work for voting, polls open early or late, mailing sample ballots, etc.).⁷ This is because voter registration is a relatively higher hurdle for most persons; adding or removing some marginal costs of voting beyond registration has virtually no observable effect on turnout.

Several studies find some negative effect of voter registration laws; however, a well-known study published in the lead journal of the American Political Science Association casts serious doubt on such claims, even arguing that: “what was thought to be a fact, namely that poorly educated persons are more deterred from voting by registration laws than well-educated persons, is not a fact.”⁸ Further, recent work shows “even the most dramatic easing of voter registration costs” has only modest effects on number of voters and improvement in turnout among lower socioeconomic status groups.⁹

⁵ The *Dexter Daily Statesman*, viewed on August 30, 2006 (<http://www.dailystatesman.com/story/1165550.html>).

⁶ Powell, G. Bingham, Jr. (1986). “American Voter Turnout in Comparative Perspective.” *American Political Science Review* 80: 17-44; and Blais, Andre (2006). “What Affects Voter Turnout?” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 9: 111-125.

⁷ Primo, David, Matthew L. Jacobsmeier and Jeffrey Milyo (forthcoming). “Estimating the Effects of State Policies and Institutions with Mixed Level Data,” *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*.

⁸ Nagler, Jonathan (1991). “The Effect of Registration Laws and Education on U.S. Voter Turnout,” *American Political Science Review*, 85(4): 1393-1405.

⁹ Brians, Craig L. and Bernard Grofman (2001). “Election Day’s Registration Effects on U. S. Voter Turnout,” *Social Science Quarterly*, 82:170-183.

In addition, empirical studies generally show only very modest influence of voter turnout on election results. Even under the most extreme assumptions (*e.g.* if *everyone* voted), increased turnout would rarely affect the outcome of an election.¹⁰

In fact, scholars of American politics generally agree that voter turnout is determined largely by idiosyncratic factors, such as an individual's intrinsic value of voting (*i.e.*, does the individual feel a duty to vote).¹¹ For this reason, factors that influence trust and confidence in the integrity of the electoral process are generally thought to be important determinants of an individual's decision to vote.¹² Influential evidence on the importance of the intrinsic value of voting comes from field experiments in which individuals receive reminders about their civic duty to vote; the treatment effect of mailings and personal canvassing significantly increases voter turnout.¹³ Finally, while there is some debate, the best evidence suggests that negative advertising reduces voter turnout, primarily because of its detrimental effect on public trust in the political process.¹⁴

The evidence that public trust in the integrity of the electoral process strongly suggests that concerns about voter fraud may reduce voter turnout. There is broad agreement that there have been problems with voter fraud in Missouri, particularly St. Louis City. The extent of the problem has been the focus of testimony in both Washington and Jefferson City, and has been discussed in the academic literature.¹⁵ Furthermore, courts in Missouri have recognized the nature of this problem. In its decision in *Missouri, ex. rel. Bush-Cheney 2000 Inc. v Baker* the Missouri Court of Appeals held that "[c]ourts should not hesitate to vigorously enforce the election laws so that every properly registered voter has the opportunity to vote. But equal vigilance is required to ensure that only those entitled to vote are allowed to cast a ballot. Otherwise, the rights of those lawfully entitled to vote are inevitably diluted" (34 S.W. 3d 410, 413 [2000]).

Public opinion polls – both nationally and in Missouri – have consistently shown that a) a significant percentage of Americans lack confidence in the election process; and b) there

¹⁰Citrin, Jack, Eric Schickler, and John Sides (2003). "What if Everyone Voted?" *American Journal of Political Science* 47:75-90; Highton, Benjamin and Raymond Wolfinger (2001). "The Political Implications of Higher Turnout," *British Journal of Political Science*, 31:179-192.

¹¹ Matsusaka, John and Filip Palda (1999). "Voter Turnout: How Much Can We Explain?" *Public Choice* 98: 431-446.

¹² Putnam, Robert (2000). *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon and Schuster; Primo, David and Jeffrey Milyo (2006). "Campaign Finance Law and Political Efficacy: Evidence from the States," *Election Law Journal*, 5(1): 23-39.

¹³ Gerber, Alan and Donald Green (2000). "The Effects of Canvassing, Telephone Calls and Direct Mail on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment," *American Political Science Review*, 94(3): 653-663; Gerber, Alan and Donald Green (2000). "The Effect of a Non-Partisan Get-Out-the-Vote Drive: An Experimental Study of Leafletting," *Journal of Politics*, 62(3): 846-857.

¹⁴ Ansolabehere, Stephen D., Shanto Iyengar, and Adam Simon (1999). "Replicating Experiments Using Aggregate and Survey Data: The Case of Negative Advertising and Turnout" *American Political Science Review*, 93: 901-909.

¹⁵ See Kropf, Martha. N.D. "Dogs and Dead People: Incremental Election Reform in Missouri," manuscript, University of Missouri-Kansas City; see also Ruda, Gabriella B. (2003-2004). "Picture Perfect: A Critical Analysis of the Debate on the 2002 Help America Vote Act." *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 31:235-259.

is widespread public support, across demographic and partisan divides, for the use of photo identification at polling places.¹⁶ Such findings have been reconfirmed recently by a survey by Rasmussen Poll, a copy of which is attached as Appendix C.

Relevant excerpts from the Rasmussen poll follow:

“A plurality of voters in each of 32 states agree that the political system in the U.S. is ‘badly broken.’ Percentages range from a high of 63% in Vermont to 47% in Nebraska, but all point in the same direction.”

“An earlier, national, survey found that just 48% of American adults believe that elections are generally fair to voters. That number has been fairly consistent since we began polling on the topic in the mid-90s.”

“There was little geographic difference on the question of whether individuals should be required to present photo identification (such as a driver’s license) when they go to the polls. Support for this approach ranged from 60% in Vermont to 92% in Florida....Maine was the only other state to register below the 73% level of support for requiring photo ID’s.”

“Discussions of voter fraud sometime revolve around assumptions of voter suppression—people who should be allowed to vote but are prevented from doing so. Other times, people express concern that people vote who are not eligible. In eighteen states, more voters are concerned to ineligible voters are allowed to cast ballots. In twelve states, more voters are concerned about people prevented from voting.”

“Voters in New York are more likely than in any other state to express a concern about voter suppression. Thirty-four percent (34%) of Empire State voters hold this view.”

“Washington and Arizona are tops when it comes to concerns about ineligible people casting ballots. In Washington, that may be the result of controversies in the election for Governor. In Arizona, it is more likely tied to concerns about illegal immigrants.”

Source: Rasmussen Poll (August 28, 2006); see Appendix C

Finally, a universal photo ID requirement would also obviate selective challenges that might be racially motivated, thereby increasing the equity of the voting experience.

¹⁶ A *Wall Street Journal*/NBC News poll conducted in April 2006 shows 62% of respondents nationwide were “strongly in favor” and 19% “somewhat in favor” of laws requiring “a valid photo identification” to vote. In sharp contrast, a mere 7% of respondents were “mildly” or “strongly opposed.” See online.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/poll20060426.pdf [accessed August 30, 2006].

Among other localities, such challenges have been documented in recent years in Arkansas.¹⁷ Some prominent African-American leaders (such as Andrew Young) have also supported mandatory photo IDs for voting because “‘requiring ID can help poor people’ who otherwise might be even more marginalized by not having one.”¹⁸

3. Report by Dr. John Lott

We have reviewed the report by Dr. Lott from August xx, 2006); we evaluated this work as we would do in the capacity of peer reviewers for a leading journal such as the *Journal of Politics* or the *Journal of Law and Economics*. Overall, we find the quality of the data and statistical analysis to be of the sort appropriate for a top academic journal. In addition, we note that the findings in Dr. Lott’s analysis are consistent with our understanding of the implications of the existing scholarly literature on state institutions, public trust and voter turnout.

¹⁷ See Ruda (2003-2004), p. 251.

¹⁸ Cited in the on-line version of the *Wall Street Journal*; url: <http://www.opinionjournal.com/diary/?id=110008411> (accessed August 30, 2006).

L. MARVIN OVERBY

Curriculum Vitae

Department of Political Science
305 Professional Building
University of Missouri
Columbia, MO 65211-6030
Voice: 573.882.2130/Fax: 573.884.5131
e-mail: overby@missouri.edu

ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Department of Political Science, University of Missouri
Professor, 2004-present; Associate Professor, 2002-2004
Department of Political Science, University of Mississippi
Associate Professor, 1995-2002 (tenure awarded 1997); Assistant Professor, 1993-1995
Adjunct Appointment, Center for the Study of Southern Culture, 1993-2002
Senior Research Associate and Founding Co-Director, Social Science Research Laboratory,
1994-2002
Institute of English and American Studies, University of Szeged, Hungary
Laszlo Orszagh Chair (Fulbright Distinguished Lecturer), 2000-2001
Johns Hopkins University-Nanjing University Center for Chinese and American Studies
Fei Yi-Ming Visiting Professor of Comparative Politics, 1997-1998 and 2005-2006.
Department of Political Science, Loyola University Chicago
Assistant Professor, 1991-1993; Instructor, 1990-1991

EDUCATION

Ph.D., University of Oklahoma, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, 1991
Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, University of Michigan, 1987
A.B., Davidson College, *cum laude*, Honors in Political Science, 1983

PROFESSIONAL PUBLICATIONS (Refereed Articles)

- Orey, D'Andra, L. Marvin Overby, Barbara J. Walkosz, and Kimberly R. Walker. N.D. "Accounting for Racism: Responses to Political Predicaments in Two States." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, forthcoming.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Jay Barth. 2006. "Radio Advertising in American Political Campaigns: The Persistence, Importance, and Effects of Narrowcasting." *American Politics Research*, 34: 451-478.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Jay Barth. 2006. "Numeracy About Minority Populations: Americans' Estimations of Local Gay Population Size." *Polity* 38:194-210.
- Overby, L. Marvin. 2006. "Public Opinion Regarding Congressional Leaders: Lessons from the 1996 Elections." *Journal of Legislative Studies* 12:54-75.
- Overby, L. Marvin, Robert D. Brown, John M. Bruce, Charles E. Smith, Jr., and John W. Winkle, III. 2005. "Race, Political Empowerment, and Minority Perceptions of Judicial Fairness." *Social Science Quarterly* 86:444-462.
- Prince, David W. and L. Marvin Overby. 2005. "Legislative Organization Theory and Committee Preference Outliers in State Senates." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 5:68-87.
- Overby, L. Marvin, Robert D. Brown, John M. Bruce, Charles E. Smith, Jr., and John W. Winkle, III. 2004. "Justice in Black and White: Race, Perceptions of Fairness, and Diffuse Support for the Judicial System in a Southern State." *Justice System Journal* 25:159-181.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Lauren C. Bell. 2004. "Rational Behavior or the Norm of Cooperation?: Filibuster Behavior Among Retiring Senators." *The Journal of Politics* 66:906-924.



- Overby, L. Marvin, Thomas A. Kazee, and David W. Prince. 2004. "Committee Outliers in State Legislatures." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 29:81-107.
- Barth, Jay and L. Marvin Overby. 2003. "Are Gay Men and Lesbians in the South the New 'Threat'? Regional Comparison of the Contact Theory." *Politics and Policy* 31:452-470.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Robert D. Brown. 2002. "Race, Redistricting, and Re-election: The Fate of White Incumbent Democrats in the 1994 Congressional Elections." *American Review of Politics* 23:337-353.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Jay Barth. 2002. "Contact, Community Context, and Public Attitudes Toward Gay Men and Lesbians." *Polity* 34:433-456.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Thomas A. Kazee. 2000. "Outlying Committees in the Statehouse: An Examination of the Prevalence of Committee Outliers in State Legislatures." *The Journal of Politics* 62: 701-728.
- Smith, Charles E., Jr., Robert D. Brown, John M. Bruce, and L. Marvin Overby. 1999. "Partisan Preferences in Two Institutional Dimensions, Policy Balancing, and Voting for Congress in the 1996 National Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 43:737-764.
- Overby, L. Marvin, Ray Tatalovich, and Donley T. Studlar. 1998. "Party and Free Votes in Canada: Abortion in the House of Commons." *Party Politics* 4:381-392.
- Brown, Robert D., Jennifer M. Davis, L. Marvin Overby, Charles E. Smith, Jr., and David R. Holian. 1997. "The Dynamics of Committee Outliers: Evidence from the House of Representatives, 1951-1990." *Journal of Legislative Studies* 3: 70-88.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Robert D. Brown. 1997. "Re-election Constituencies and the Politics of Supreme Court Confirmation Votes." *American Politics Quarterly* 25:168-178.
- Overby, L. Marvin. 1996. "Free Voting in a Provincial Parliament: The Case of 'Same-Sex' Legislation in Ontario, 1994." *Journal of Legislative Studies* 2:172-183.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Kenneth M. Cosgrove. 1996. "Unintended Consequences?: Racial Redistricting and the Representation of Minority Interests." *The Journal of Politics* 58:540-550.
- Overby, L. Marvin. 1994. "The Senate and Justice Thomas: A Note on Ideology, Race, and Constituent Pressures." *Congress and the Presidency* 21:131-136.
- Overby, L. Marvin, Beth M. Henschen, Julie Strauss, and Michael H. Walsh. 1994. "African-American Constituents and Supreme Court Nominees: An Examination of the Senate Confirmation of Thurgood Marshall." *Political Research Quarterly* 47:839-855.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Beth M. Henschen. 1994. "Race Trumps Gender?: Women, African Americans, and the Senate Confirmation of Justice Clarence Thomas." *American Politics Quarterly* 22:62-73.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Gary W. Copeland. 1993. "Legislative Socialization and Interbranch Rivalry: Consequences of Divided Party Government." *Congress and the Presidency* 20:119-129.
- Overby, L. Marvin. 1993. "Political Amateurism, Legislative Inexperience, and Incumbency Behavior: Southern Republican Senators, 1980-1986." *Polity* 25:401-420.
- Overby, L. Marvin, Beth M. Henschen, Michael H. Walsh, and Julie Strauss. 1992. "Courting Constituents?: An Analysis of the Senate Confirmation Vote on Justice Clarence Thomas." *American Political Science Review* 86:997-1003.
- Overby, L. Marvin. 1992. "Apportionment, Politics, and Political Science: A Response to Kromkowski and Kromkowski." *Polity* 24:483-494.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Sarah Ritchie. 1991. "Mobilized Masses and Strategic Opponents: A Resource Mobilization Analysis of the Nuclear Freeze and Clean Air Movements." *Western Political Quarterly* 44:329-351.
- Overby, L. Marvin. 1991. "Assessing Constituency Influence: Congressional Voting on

- the Nuclear Freeze, 1982-1983." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 16:297-312.
- Overby, L. Marvin. 1990. "Inputs and Outcomes of West European Peace Movements: An Application of Kitschelt's Political Opportunity Structures Thesis." *West European Politics* 13(1):1-11.
- Overby, L. Marvin. 1988. "Alexis de Tocqueville on the Political Dimensions of Democratic Literature." *The Mid-American Journal of Politics* 3(1):54-71.

PROFESSIONAL PUBLICATIONS (Books, Chapters, Other)

- Overby, L. Marvin. 1995. "Garret FitzGerald." In *Political Leaders of Contemporary Western Europe*, ed. David Wilsford. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Layzell, Anne C. and L. Marvin Overby. 1994. "Biding Their Time in the Illinois 9th." *Who Runs for Congress?: Ambition, Context, and Candidate Emergence*, ed. Thomas A. Kazee. Washington: CQ Press.
- Burns, James MacGregor with L. Marvin Overby. 1990. *Cobblestone Leadership: Majority Rule, Minority Power*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Rankin Coble. 1984. "The Strengths and Weaknesses of Boards, Commissions, and Councils." In *Boards, Commissions, and Councils in the Executive Branch of North Carolina State Government*. Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

- Orey, D'Andra, L. Marvin Overby, and Christopher W. Larimer. N.D. "African-American Committee Chairs in American State Legislatures." Under "revise and resubmit" at *Social Science Quarterly*.
- Ang, Adrian U-Jin and L. Marvin Overby. N.D. "Retirements, Retentions, and the Balance of Partisan Power in Contemporary Congressional Politics." Under first review at *Journal of Legislative Studies*.
- Overby, L. Marvin. N.D. "Some Things Ya'll Need to Know: Teaching Southern Politics at Home and Abroad." Under first review at *Journal of Political Science Education*.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Harvey D. Palmer. N.D. "Investigating Heterogeneity in the Impact of Black Political Empowerment." Under first review at the *Journal of Politics*.
- Barth, Jay and L. Marvin Overby. N.D. "Narrowcasting: Radio Advertising in American Political Campaigns." Manuscript being prepared for probable submission to *Political Communication*.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Jay Barth. N.D. "The Medium and the Media Matter: Assessing Campaign Ads with Panel Data." Manuscript being prepared for probable submission to *Political Communication*.
- Orey, D'Andra, L. Marvin Overby, and Pete Hatemi. N.D. "White Support for Recent Racial Referenda in the Deep South." Manuscript being prepared for probable submission to the *Journal of Politics*.
- Overby, L. Marvin and John R. Petrocik. N.D. "Uncertain Terms: Preliminary Empirical Assessments of the Effects of Term Limits on Party Polarization in the American Statehouse." Manuscript.

TEACHING RELATED PUBLICATIONS

- Auger, Vincent A. and L. Marvin Overby. 2005. "Teaching and Learning in Nanjing: Community, Communities, and Politics in an Overseas Program." 1:233-247.
- Dow, Jay, Sean Nicholson-Crotty, and L. Marvin Overby, editors. 2005. *University of Missouri Readings in American Government*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

- Ang, Adrian and L. Marvin Overby. 2006. "Retirements, Retentions, and the Balance of Power in

- Contemporary Congressional Politics." Paper accepted for presentation at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.
- Drury, A. Cooper, L. Marvin Overby, Adrian Ang, and Yitan Li. 2006. "Pretty Prudent or Swayed by Rhetoric: The American Public's Support for Military Action." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association.
- Keiser, Lael, L. Marvin Overby, Kenneth J. Meier, and Daniel Hawes. 2005. "Gender, Race, and the Theory of Representative Bureaucracy." Presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.
- Bough, Brian and L. Marvin Overby. 2005. "Partisanship or Protection: Examining the King of the Hill Rule." Presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.
- L. Marvin Overby and Jay Barth. 2005. "Radio Advertising in American Political Campaigns." Presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Lauren C. Bell. 2004. "Filibusters and Filibusterers in the Contemporary Senate: An Examination of the Dynamics and Individual-Level Correlates of 'Extended Debate,' 1975-2002." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Jay Barth. 2004. "Numeracy About Minority Populations: Americans' Estimations of *Local* Gay Population Size." Presented at the 27th Annual Scientific Meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology, Lund, Sweden.
- Overby, L. Marvin, Robert D. Brown, John M. Bruce, Charles E. Smith, Jr., and John W. Winkle, III. 2004. "Race, Political Empowerment, and Minority Perceptions of Judicial Fairness." Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association.
- Orey, D'Andra B. and L. Marvin Overby. 2004. "African-American Committee Chairs in American State Legislatures." Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Harvey D. Palmer. 2003. "Investigating Heterogeneity in the Impact of Black Empowerment on Participation." Presented at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Jay Barth. 2003. "Narrowcasting: Radio Advertising in American Political Campaigns." Presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Lauren Cohen Bell. 2002. "Leaders and Followers in the U.S. Senate: Rational Behavior or the Norm of Reciprocity?" Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.
- Prince, David W. and L. Marvin Overby. 2002. "Explaining Committee Outliers in State Senates." Presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin, Thomas A. Kazee, and David W. Prince. 2001. "Committee Composition in State Legislatures: An Examination of the Causes of Committee Outliers." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin, Thomas A. Kazee, and David W. Prince. 2000. "Committee Outliers in State Legislatures." Presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.
- Winkle, John W., III, L. Marvin Overby, Robert D. Brown, John M. Bruce, and Charles E. Smith, Jr. 2000. "Race, Representation, and Racial Empowerment: An Examination of the Mississippi Judicial System." Presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics.
- Overby, L. Marvin. 1999. "The Etiology and Implications of Public Support for Congressional Leaders." Presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin, Robert D. Brown, John M. Bruce, and Charles E. Smith, Jr. 1999. "Policy Balancing in 1996: Who are the Balancers?" Presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.
- Barth, Jay and L. Marvin Overby. 1998. "Are Gay Men and Lesbians in the South the New 'Threat?': Regional Comparison of the Contact Theory." Presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics.

- Auger, Vincent A. and L. Marvin Overby. 1998. "Teaching and Learning in Nanjing: Community, Communities, and Politics in an Overseas Program." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.
- Bruce, John M., Robert D. Brown, L. Marvin Overby, and Charles E. Smith, Jr. 1997. "Ticket-Splitting, Divided Government, and the 1996 Presidential Election." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Thomas A. Kazee. 1997. "Outlying Committees in the Statehouse: An Examination of the Prevalence of Committee Outliers in State Legislatures." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.
- Barth, Jay and L. Marvin Overby. 1997. "Contact, Context, and Citizen Attitudes Toward Gay Men and Lesbians: Results from a Recent National Survey." Presented at the 20th Annual Scientific Meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology, Krakow, Poland.
- Overby, L. Marvin, Charles E. Smith, Jr., John M. Bruce, Robert D. Brown, and John W. Winkle, III. 1997. "Justice in Black and White: Race, Perceptions of Justice, and Diffuse Support for the Judicial System in an American State." Presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.
- Hetland, Gary, Christopher D. Martin, and L. Marvin Overby. 1996. "Retirements, Retention, and Realignment: Voluntary Congressional Departures and the Pace of Partisan Change in the Post-War South." Presented to the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Sarah Ritchie. 1996. "Racial Redistricting and the Representation of Minority Interests: Evidence from Two State Legislatures." Presented to the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Sarah Ritchie. 1995. "Symbolic vs. Substantive Representation?: Racial Redistricting in the Mississippi State Legislature." Presented to the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.
- Brown, Robert D. and L. Marvin Overby. 1995. "Race, Redistricting, and Re-election: The Fate of White Incumbent Democrats in the 1994 Congressional Elections." Presented to the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin. 1995. "Free Voting in a Provincial Parliament: The Case of 'Same-Sex' Legislation in Ontario, 1994." Presented to the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Leonardo Valdes. 1995. "Parties and Partisanship in Contemporary North America." Presented to the Conference on "Los Sistemas politicos de America del Norte, hoy: Desafios y convergencias," Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, Mexico City.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Robert D. Brown. 1995. "Electoral Coalitions and the Politics of Supreme Court Confirmation Votes: Re-election Constituencies and the Senate Vote on Justice Clarence Thomas." Presented to the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.
- Fisher, Samuel, III, L. Marvin Overby, and Richard Vengroff. 1994. "The 1994 Quebec Provincial Elections: Party Realignment, Independence Referendum, or More of the Same?" Presented to the meeting of the American Council for Quebec Studies.
- Overby, L. Marvin, Robert D. Brown, Jennifer M. Davis, Charles E. Smith, and David B. Holian. 1994. "The Prevalence and Dynamics of Outlier Committees in the U.S. Congress: 1951-1990." Presented to the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Kenneth M. Cosgrove. 1994. "Unintended Consequences?: Racial Redistricting and the Representation of Minority Interests." Presented to the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.
- Holian, David B., Robert D. Brown, L. Marvin Overby, and Charles E. Smith, Jr. 1994. "Committees as Preference Outliers: When is a Difference a Difference?." Presented to the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

- Overby, L. Marvin and Kenneth M. Johnson. 1993. "Senior Citizens and Constituency Clout." Presented to the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.
- Tatalovich, Raymond, L. Marvin Overby, and Donley T. Studlar. 1993. "Patterns of Abortion Voting in the Canadian House of Commons." Presented to the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin, Todd Lough, and Anne C. Layzell. 1993. "Follow the Bouncing Checks: Correlates and Consequences of the 1992 House Banking Scandal." Presented to the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin. 1992. "Inexperienced Amateurs, Vulnerable Incumbents, and Political Change: Southern Republicans in the House of Representatives, 1946-1990." Presented to the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin, Beth M. Henschen, Julie Strauss, and Michael H. Walsh. 1992. "African-American Constituents and Supreme Court Nominees: An Examination of the Confirmations of Thurgood Marshall and Clarence Thomas." Presented to the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Timothy B. Krebs. 1992. "Excuses, Excuses: Congressional Adjournment Dates and Incumbent Return Rates, 1946-1990." Presented to the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.
- Freundreis, John P. and L. Marvin Overby. 1992. "Reversal of Fortune: The Rise and Fall of the Southern Republican Senate Class of 1980." Presented to the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin. 1991. "Political Amateurism, Legislative Inexperience, and Incumbency Behavior: Southern Republican Senators, 1980-1986." Presented to the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Sarah Ritchie. 1990. "Mobilized Masses and Strategic Opponents: A Resource Mobilization Analysis of the Clean Air and Nuclear Freeze Movements and Their Opponents." Presented to the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin. 1989. "Inputs and Outcomes of Western Peace Movements: An Application of Kitschelt's Political Opportunities Structures Thesis." Presented to the fourteenth annual European Studies Conference, University of Nebraska-Omaha.
- Overby, L. Marvin. 1989. "The Politics of Parochialism: Southern Senators and the Southern Democracy in the 1980s." Presented to the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Sarah Ritchie. 1989. "Mobilized Masses and Strategic Opponents: A Reassessment of Policy-Making in the Wake of the Clean Air and Nuclear Freeze Movements." Presented to the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin. 1989. "Assessing Constituency Influence: A Loglinear Model of Congressional Voting on the Nuclear Freeze, 1982-1983." Presented to the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin and Kenneth M. Cosgrove. 1988. "A Clash of Conceptions: Democratic Theories and the Ongoing Struggle for Northern Ireland." Presented to the annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin. 1987. "'Our Peculiar Defects': Tocqueville on the Literature of Democracies." Presented to the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.
- Overby, L. Marvin. 1987. "Implementing the New Federalism: Lessons from the Environmental Protection Agency's National Municipal Policy, 1984-1985." Presented to the fifth Student Pugwash USA International Conference, Stanford University.
- Overby, L. Marvin. 1987. "Politics and Integration: The Case of the Central American Common Market. Presented to the annual meeting of the Institute of Latin American Studies Student Association, University of Texas-Austin.
- Copeland, Gary W. and L. Marvin Overby. 1987. "Legislative Socialization and Inter-Branch Rivalry:

An Empirical Assessment of the Carter and Reagan Presidencies." Presented to the annual meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association.

Overby, L. Marvin. 1986. "The Politicization of Principle: The Nuclear Freeze Movement in Congress, 1982-1983." Presented to the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.

SELECTED PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Vice president and Program Chair, Southwestern Political Science Association, 2003-2004.
Executive Director, Southern Political Science Association, 1999-2001.
Editorial Board, *American Journal of Political Science*, 1998-2001.
Member, Site Selection Committee, Southwestern Social Science Association, 1999-2002.
Chair, Nominations Committee, Southwestern Political Science Association, 1997-1998. Committee member, 1996-1998.
Section Head, "Executives and Legislatures," 1996 Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association.
Editor, *Extensions*, a forum for discussion of the Congress published semi-annually by the Carl Albert Center, 1986-1988.

COURSES TAUGHT

<i>Undergraduate:</i>	Introductory American Government Legislative Process Comparative Legislatures American Presidency Politics of the American South
<i>Graduate:</i>	Scope and Method of Political Science Seminar in American Legislative Politics Seminar in Southern Politics Seminar in American Political Institutions

PERSONAL GRANTS and LEAVES

Research Board, University of Missouri System, "The Institutionalization of Colonial and State Legislatures: 1781-1824 The Institutionalization of Colonial and State Legislatures: 1781-1824." 2005-2007. \$13,400. With Jay Dow.

Center for Arts and Humanities, University of Missouri. "Research Travel to Washington, DC, for Archival Work on the History of the Filibuster in the United States Senate." Fall 2004, \$500.

Faculty International Travel Award, "Travel to the Scientific Meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology, Lund, Sweden." Office of Research, University of Missouri, Summer 2004, \$1,500.

Global Scholars Summer Seminar in Russia, International Studies Center, University of Missouri, June 2004.

Faculty Research Grant, "The Politics of Same-Sex Rights in Canada: An Examination and Analysis of Recent Provincial, Judicial, and Parliamentary Developments," Canadian Studies Program, Government of Canada, Summer 2004, \$7,000.

Internationalizing the Curriculum Award, International Center, University of Missouri, Fall 2003, \$1,000.

National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar, "American Constitutionalism in Comparative Perspective," University of Notre Dame, Summer 2003, \$3,700.

Sabbatical Leave, "The Etiology and Implications of Public Opinion Regarding Congressional Leaders," University of Mississippi, Fall 2001

Canadian Studies Faculty Enrichment Grant, "Development of a Syllabus for a Course on Canadian Politics," Government of Canada, Summer 1999, \$4,500.

Faculty Development Grant, "Travel to the Scientific Meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology, Krakow, Poland." College of Liberal Arts, University of Mississippi, Summer 1997, \$800.

Faculty Research Small Grant, "The Roots of Cooperative Behavior in the U. S. Senate: Rational Choice or the Norm of Reciprocity?" Office of Research, University of Mississippi, Summer 1996, \$1,000.

Faculty Development Grant, "Travel to the Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association," College of Liberal Arts, University of Mississippi, Spring 1996, \$400.

Faculty Development Grant, "Travel to the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Montreal, Quebec." College of Liberal Arts, University of Mississippi, Summer 1995, \$425.

Faculty Research Grant, "Free Voting in Canada: An Examination of the Federal and Selected Provincial Parliaments," Canadian Studies Program, Government of Canada, Summer 1994, \$5,000.

Faculty Summer Support Grant, "Unintended Consequences: Race-Based Redistricting and the Representation of Minority Interests," Office of Research, University of Mississippi, Summer 1994, \$4,000.

Partner's Grant, "Purchase of a Laptop PC for Off-Campus Research Activities," Chancellor's Office, University of Mississippi, Spring 1994, \$1,000.

Paid Leave of Absence, "Inexperienced Amateurs, Vulnerable Incumbents, and Political Change: Southern Republicans in the House of Representatives, 1946-1990," Loyola University Chicago, Spring semester 1994 (declined).

Summer Research Stipend, "Exploring the Roots of Legislative Committee Strength: An Empirical Test of the 'Ex Post Veto' Hypothesis," Loyola University Chicago, Summer 1993, \$4,000 (declined).

Research Support Grant, "Inexperienced Amateurs, Vulnerable Incumbents, and Political Change: Southern Republicans in the House of Representatives, 1946-1990," Loyola University Chicago, Summer 1992, \$1,200.

Research Support Grant, "Excuses, Excuses: Congressional Adjournment Dates and Incumbent Return Rates, 1946-1990," Loyola University Chicago, Summer 1991, \$1,000.

Thomas J. Watson Fellowship, "The Role of the European Communities in Cross-Border Irish Relations," Thomas J. Watson Foundation, 1983-84, \$10,000.

FUNDED ACTIVITIES and GRANTS (University of Mississippi Social Science Research Laboratory)

"Mississippi Alliance for Prevention — Evaluation Component," Governor's Office and Mississippi Department of Mental Health, 2001-2004, \$404,000. "Assessment of the Mississippi Pilot Tobacco Program: Teen-Oriented, Anti-Tobacco Media Campaign," Mississippi Department of Health, 1999-2000, \$300,000.

"Assessment of the Crime and Security Needs of Elderly Mississippians," Mississippi Leadership

- Council on Aging, Spring-Summer 1999, \$31,000.
- "Retirement Community Feasibility Study," City of Aberdeen Chamber of Commerce, Summer - Fall 1997, \$75,000.
- "User Satisfaction Survey for Library Re-Accreditation," John Davis Williams Library, University of Mississippi, Spring 1997, \$750.
- "Survey of Political Science Departments," American Political Science Association, Spring 1997, \$7,500.
- "Coahoma Community College Needs Assessment," Coahoma Community College, Spring 1997, \$24,092.
- "Network Infrastructure Upgrade for the Social Science Research Laboratory," University of Mississippi Associates Grant, Spring 1997, \$7,215.
- "1996 Mississippi Elderly Needs Assessment Study," Mississippi Department of Human Services (coordinated with Dr. JoAnn O'Quin), Spring 1996, \$113,800.
- "Planning and Development District Elderly Needs Assessment," Mississippi Association of Planning and Development Districts, Spring 1996, \$57,400.
- "Public, Student, Teacher, and Staff Perceptions in the Oxford School District," Oxford School District, Spring 1996, \$12,500.
- "Needs Assessment/Marketing Survey for the University of Mississippi's Branch Campuses in Tupelo and Southaven," Chancellor's Office and the Office of Public Relations at the University of Mississippi, and the Ramey Agency, Fall 1995, \$42,300.
- "Public Perceptions of Bias in the Mississippi Courts," the Supreme Court of Mississippi's Committee on Bias in the Courts (in collaboration with Dr. John W. Winkle, III), Fall 1995.
- "Public Attitudes About the Mississippi Judiciary," the Mississippi Judicial Advisory Study Committee (in collaboration with Dr. John W. Winkle, III), Fall 1995, \$25,000.
- "Needs Assessment Survey," Division of Child and Family Services, Mississippi Department of Human Services, Spring 1995, \$16,500.
- "Public Attitudes Towards Sports Gambling," Mississippi Gaming Commission (coordinated with Mississippi State University's Social Science Research Center), Winter 1995, \$7,500.

RECENT INVITED PRESENTATIONS

- Nanjing University, "Black Elite Electoral Success and Public Feelings of Empowerment," December 2005.
- Johns Hopkins University-Nanjing University Center for Chinese and American Studies, "Supreme Court Appointments: Process and Politics," October 2005
- Gaines/Oldham Black Culture Center, University of Missouri, "The Rights of All: Blacks and the U. S. Constitution," October 2004.
- All-China Youth Federation Delegation, Asian Affairs Center, University of Missouri, "Public Opinion in the United States," May 2004
- University of Missouri Working Group on Canadian Studies, "Of Provinces, Parliaments, Parties, and Procedures: The Case of 'Same-Sex' Legislation in Ontario," December 2002.
- Harry F. Byrd Visiting Scholar, James Madison University, "The Rise and Stall of the Republican Party in the South," October 2002.
- Mary Baldwin College, "In a Free Country: Political Parties in the United States," October 2002.
- University of Missouri, "Committee Outliers in State Legislatures: A Counting Of and Accounting for Unrepresentative Committees in the Statehouse," January 2002.
- University of Arkansas, "Minority Empowerment in the South: An Examination of Public Attitudes Toward the Judiciary in Mississippi," January 2002.
- Peter Pazmany Catholic University (Budapest, Hungary), "You Can't Understand One Without the Other: Southern Politics and American Politics in the 20th Century," April 2001.
- Georgia State University, "Committee Outliers in State Legislatures: Data and Observations from a Forty-five State Sample," March 2001.

University of Debrecen (Debrecen, Hungary), "Representation of Minority Interests in the United States: Historical Development and Contemporary Issues," November 2000.
Samford University, "Damned if You Do, Damned if You Don't: Contemporary Congressional Leadership and the Dilemma of Public Opinion," March 2000.
Vanderbilt University, "Outliers in the Statehouse: An Examination of Committee Outliers in American State Legislatures," November 1999.

SELECTED UNIVERSITY SERVICE

University of Missouri

Campus Writing Board, 2004-2007
Committee on Academic Appeals, College of Arts and Science, 2004-2005.
Chair, Lectureship in American Traditions and Values Committee, College of Arts and Sciences, 2003-2004.
Executive Committee, College of Arts and Sciences, 2003-2004, 2006-2009.
Executive Committee, Department of Political Science, 2002-2004, 2004-2006.
Chair, Recruitment Committees, Department of Political Science, 2002-2003, 2003-2004, 2004-2005, 2006-2007.
Multicultural Studies Committee, Office of the Vice Provost for Undergraduate Studies, 2002-2003.

University of Mississippi

Planning Committee, Symposium on the Scientific, Ethical, Legal, and Societal Implications of Stem Cell Research, 2001-2002
Faculty Senate, 1998-2000, 2002.
Chair, Faculty Governance Committee, 2002.
Chair, General Academic Affairs Committee, 1999-2000.
Member, Senate Executive Committee, 1999-2000, 2002.
Housing Judicial Council, 1999-2000.
Committee on Academic Freedom and Faculty Responsibility, 1999-2000.
Academic Discipline Committee, 1998-2000, 2001-2002.
Director of Graduate Studies, Department of Political Science, 1994-1997.

Loyola University Chicago

Graduate Fellowships Committee, Graduate School, 1992-1993.
Graduate Committee, Department of Political Science, 1992-1993.
Faculty Coordinator, Loyola-Catholic University Washington Semester Exchange Program, College of Arts and Science, 1991-1992.

TEACHING AWARDS

Cora Lee Graham Award for Outstanding Teaching of Freshman Students, College of Liberal Arts, University of Mississippi, 1999

GRADUATE HONORS

Carl Albert Fellowship, University of Oklahoma, 1985-1990.
Congressional Fellowship, American Political Science Association, 1988-1989 (Legislative Assistant to Rep. David E. Price, D-N.C.).
Harriet Harvey Memorial Scholarship, University of Oklahoma, 1988-1989.
John H. Leek Memorial Scholarship, Department of Political Science, University of Oklahoma, 1987 and 1988.

Jeffrey Milyo
Associate Professor of Economics and Public Affairs
University of Missouri

ADDRESS

University of Missouri, 118 Professional Building, Columbia, MO 65211
Phone: (573) 882-7785; Fax: (573) 882-2697
Email: milyoj at missouri dot edu; <http://www.missouri.edu/~milyoj/>

EDUCATION

Stanford University, Ph.D. in Economics with a minor in Business, 1994

University of Connecticut, B.A. and M.A., *summa cum laude*, in Economics, 1986

PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYMENT

University of Missouri, Department of Economics and Truman School of Public Affairs;
Associate Professor, 2004-

University of Chicago, Harris School of Public Policy; Assistant Professor, 2000-04

Tufts University, Department of Economics, Assistant Professor, 1994-2000

AFFILIATIONS

Senior Fellow, Cato Institute, Washington, D.C., 2006-

Research Affiliate, Center for Applied Economics, University of Kansas School of Business,
2006-

Academic Advisor, Center for Competitive Politics, Washington, D.C., 2006-

Center for Health Policy, University of Missouri, 2006-

Joint Center for Poverty Research, University of Chicago; 2000-2004

August 2006

RESEARCH GRANTS

University of Missouri Research Board, 2005-2006; "The Effects of Social Capital on the Well-Being of Young Adults" (PI; \$20,000)

Robert Wood Johnson, Substance Abuse Policy Research Program, 2004-2005; "Estimating the Effects of Political Contributions on State Alcohol and Tobacco Policies," with Myoung Lee (Co-PI; \$17,500)

Robert Wood Johnson, Substance Abuse Policy Research Program, 2004-2005; "The Effects of State Campaign Finance Reforms on Tax Policy toward Alcohol and Tobacco," with Jeff Kubik and John Moran (PI; \$40,000)

National Science Foundation, 2003-2005; "A Theoretical and Empirical Investigation of the Returns to Legislative Oversight," with Sean Gailmard. (\$181,525; PI)

Cultural Policy Center, University of Chicago, 2003; "Social Capital and Support for the Arts" (PI; \$5,000)

Tufts University, Faculty Research Fund, 1998-1999; "Electoral Effects of Incumbent Wealth" (PI; \$1,000)

HONORS AND AWARDS

Hanna Family Scholar, Center for Applied Economics, University of Kansas, 2006-

Gordon Moore Visiting Scholar, Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research, Stanford University, July 2006

Gerson-Lehrman Group Scholar, Gerson-Lehrman Group, Washington, D.C., 2005.

Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellow, Institute for Social and Policy Studies, Yale University, 1997-1998

Salvatori Fellow, Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., June 1997.

Harvard-MIT Political Economy Fellow, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1996-1997

Named one of the best teachers at Tufts University by *Choosing the Right College*, Intercollegiate Studies Institute (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing: Grand Rapids, MI), 2000

Named one of the 10 best teachers at Tufts University by *The Primary Source* (an undergraduate student publication), 1996

PUBLICATIONS

JOURNAL ARTICLES:

- (24) "Estimating the Impact of State Policies and Institutions with Mixed-Level Data," with David Primo and Matthew Jacobsmeier; *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* (forthcoming).
 - (23) "A Social Science Perspective on Media Bias," with Tim Groseclose; *Critical Review*, 17:3-4: 305-314.
 - (22) "Induced Heterogeneity in Trust Experiments," with Lisa Anderson and Jennifer Mellor; *Experimental Economics*, 9:223-235.
 - (21) "Campaign Finance Laws and Political Efficacy: Evidence from the States," (2006) with David Primo; *Election Law Journal*, 5(1): 23-39.
 - (20) "A Measure of Media Bias," (2005) with Tim Groseclose; *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 120(4):1191-1237 [lead article].
 - (19) "State Social Capital and Individual Health Status," (2005) with Jennifer Mellor; *Journal of Health Politics Policy and Law*, 30(6): 1101-1130.
 - (18) "Social Capital and Contributions in a Public Goods Experiment," (2004) with Lisa Anderson and Jennifer Mellor; *American Economic Review (Papers and Proceedings)*, 94(2): 373-376.
 - (17) "Individual Health Status and Minority Racial Concentration in U.S. States and Counties," (2004) with Jennifer Mellor; *American Journal of Public Health*, 94(6): 1043-1048.
 - (16) "On the Importance of Age-Adjustment Methods in Ecological Studies of Social Determinants of Mortality," (2003) with Jennifer Mellor; *Health Services Research* 38(6.2): 1781-1790.
 - (15) "Is Exposure to Income Inequality a Public Health Concern? Lagged Effects of Income Inequality on Individual and Population Health," (2003) with Jennifer Mellor; *Health Services Research* 38(1.1) 137-151.
 - (14) "Income Inequality and Health Status in the United States: Evidence from the Current Population Survey," (2002) with Jennifer Mellor; *Journal of Human Resources*, 37(3): 510-539.
 - (13) "Income Inequality and Health," (2001) with Jennifer Mellor; *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 20(1): 151-155.
-

- (12) "Re-Examining the Ecological Association Between Income Inequality and Health," (2001) with Jennifer Mellor; *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 26(3): 485-518 [lead article].
- (11) "What Do Candidates Maximize (and Why Should Anyone Care)?" (2001); *Public Choice*, 109(1/2): 119-139.
- (10) "A Problem with Euclidean Preferences in Spatial Models of Politics," (2000); *Economics Letters*, 66(2): 179-182.
- (9) "Logical Deficiencies of Spatial Models: A Constructive Critique," (2000); *Public Choice*, 105(3/4): 273-289.
- (8) "Gender Bias and Selection Bias in House Elections," (2000) with Samantha Schosberg; *Public Choice*, 105(1/2): 41-59.
- (7) "Corporate PAC Campaign Contributions in Perspective," (2000) with Tim Groseclose and David Primo; *Business and Politics*, 2(1): 75-88.
- (6) "Is Income Inequality Bad for Your Health," (2000) with Jennifer Mellor; *Critical Review*, 13(3/4): 359-372.
- (5) "The Effects of Price Advertising on Prices: Evidence from 44 Liquormart," (1999) with Joel Waldfogel; *American Economic Review*, 89(5): 1081-1096. Reprinted in *The Economics of Advertising*. Edited by Kyle Bagwell. Edward Elgar Publishing: London.
- (4) "The Electoral Effects of Incumbent Wealth," (1999) with Tim Groseclose; *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 42(2): 699-722.
- (3) "The Political Economics of Campaign Finance," (1999); *The Independent Review*, 3(4): 537-548.
- (2) "The Economics of Political Campaign Finance: FECA and the Puzzle of the Not Very Greedy Grandfathers," (1997); *Public Choice*, 93: 245-270.
- (1) "Electoral and Financial Effects of Changes in Committee Power: Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, the Tax Reform Act of 1986, and the Money Committees in the House," (1997); *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 40(1): 93-112.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO EDITED VOLUMES:

- (4) "State Campaign Finance Reforms, Competitiveness and Party Advantage in Gubernatorial Elections," (2006) with Tim Groseclose and David Primo; in *The Marketplace of Democracy*. Michael McDonald and John Samples, Editors. (Brookings Institution and Cato Institute: Washington, DC).
- (3) "Campaign Finance," (forthcoming); in the *Concise Encyclopedia of Economics*, 2nd Edition. D. Henderson, Editor. Liberty Press (Indianapolis, IN).
- (2) "Do Liberals Play Nice? The Effects of Political Party and Ideology in Public Goods and Trust Games," (2005), with Lisa Anderson and Jennifer Mellor; in *Advances in Applied Microeconomics: Experimental and Behavioral Economics*. John Morgan, Editor. (JAI Press: Stamford, Connecticut).
- (1) "Reform without Reason: the Scientific Method and Campaign Finance," (2005) with David Primo; in *Taxpayer Financing of Political Campaigns*. John Samples, Ed. Cato Institute: Washington, DC.

COMMENTS, COMMUNICATION AND REVIEWS:

- (6) "On the Use of Age-Adjusted Mortality Rates in Studies of Income Inequality and Population Health," (2002) with Jennifer Mellor; *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 27(2): 293-296.
- (5) "Bribes and Fruit Baskets: What Does the Link Between PAC Contributions and Lobbying Mean?" (2002); *Business and Politics*, 4(2): 157-160.
- (4) "Exploring the Relationships Between Income Inequality, Socioeconomic Status, and Health: A Self-Guided Tour?," (2002) with Jennifer Mellor; *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 31(3):685-687
- (3) "Income Distribution, Socioeconomic Status and Self-Rated Health in the United States," (1999); *British Medical Journal*, 318: 1417.
- (2) Review of Brown, Powell and Wilcox, *Serious Money: Fundraising and Contributing in Presidential Nomination Campaigns* (1997), *Political Science Quarterly*, 112(2): 321.
- (1) Review of Alesina and Rosenthal, *Partisan Politics, Divided Government, and the Economy*, (1996), *Journal of Politics*, 58:559-561.

POLICY REPORTS:

- (4) "Public Financing of Campaigns," (2006) Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies (Washington, DC).
- (3) "Social Capital and Support for Public Funding of the Arts," (2004); Cultural Policy Center, University of Chicago.
- (2) "What Does Academic Research Tell Us About the Role of Money in American Politics?" (2002); Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies (Washington, DC).
- (1) "The Electoral Effects of Campaign Spending in House Elections," (1998); Citizens' Research Foundation: Los Angeles.

SELECTED WORKING PAPERS:

- (10) "Inequality and Public Good Provision: An Experimental Analysis," with Lisa Anderson and Jennifer Mellor; under review at *Journal of Socio-Economics* (first revision).
 - (9) "A Rational-Choice Formal-Theoretic Argument Against the Existence of Sophisticated Voting in Legislatures," with Tim Groseclose; under review at the *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*.
 - (8) "Did the Devil Make Them Do It? The Effects of Religion and Religiosity in Public Goods and Trust Games," with Lisa Anderson and Jennifer Mellor; under review at *Public Choice*.
 - (7) "The Effects of State Campaign Finance Laws on Voter Turnout, 1950-2000," with David Primo; under revision.
 - (6) "Sex, Power and Money: Market Reaction to a Political Scandal, with Scott Smart.
 - (5) "Long-Run Effects of Price Advertising on Prices," with Joel Waldfogel; under revision.
 - (4) "Policy Consequences of State Campaign Finance Reforms: Evidence from Excise Taxes on Alcohol and Tobacco," with Jeff Kubik and John Moran.
 - (3) "Political Determinants of State Medicaid Generosity," with Reagan Baughman.
 - (2) "Political Economics of Legislative Oversight," with Sean Gailmard.
 - (1) "An Economic Approach to Social Capital: Lessons from Game Theory and Experimental Economics," with Lisa Anderson and Jennifer Mellor.
-

INVITED PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS:

1994-95: Public Choice Society, Harvard University, Midwest Political Science Assoc. and MIT

1995-96: Midwest Political Science Assoc., Harvard University, University of Connecticut

1996-97: American Economics Assoc., Public Choice Society, Midwest Political Science Assoc., Institute for Humane Studies, Ohio State University, MIT, Georgia State University.

1997-98: Trinity College, Yale University, Public Choice Society, Midwest Political Science Assoc., Tufts University, American Law and Economics Assoc., Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Conference and National Bureau of Economic Research Summer Workshop.

1998-99: American Political Science Assoc., George Mason University, William and Mary, Harvard University, Stanford University, Yale University, UC-Berkeley, University of Chicago, Public Choice Society, Bowdoin College, Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Conference, and National Bureau of Economic Research Summer Workshop.

1999-2000: University of Rochester, University of Delaware, Syracuse University, Carnegie Mellon University, Claremont-McKenna College, American Economics Assoc., University of Chicago and American University.

2000-2001: Dartmouth College, Midwest Political Science Assoc., Public Choice Society and University of Chicago.

2001-2002: American Enterprise Institute, Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Midwest Political Science Assoc. and University of Michigan.

2002-2003: American Economics Assoc., Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Midwest Political Science Assoc., Naval Postgraduate School and the Public Choice Society.

2003-2004: American Economics Assoc., American Political Science Assoc., Midwest Political Science Assoc., University of Minnesota, University of Missouri, Vanderbilt University, University of Virginia, Williams College and Yale University.

2004-2005: American Economics Assoc., American Political Science Assoc., Brigham Young University, University of Connecticut, and Washington University.

2005-2006: American Economics Association, Cato-Brookings, George Mason University, Midwest Political Science Association, University of Kansas, University of Kentucky, University of Missouri, University of Wisconsin.

MEDIA APPEARANCES

INTERVIEWS AND CITATIONS:

I have been interviewed or cited in connection with my scholarly research and as a policy expert more than 50 times in the major electronic and print media. Most recent electronic media appearances include interview segments on Fox News and MSNBC, and citations to my research on CNN, CSPAN, FOX News, National Public Radio and the *Drudge Report*. Major newspaper and news magazine citations include the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *USA Today*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Boston Globe*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, *Detroit News*, the *Rocky Mountain News*, the *Washington Monthly*, the *Investors' Business Daily*, *Business Week*, *National Review*, the *Weekly Standard*, the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, *Human Events* and *The New Criterion*.

OPINION ESSAYS:

- (8) "The High Court, Hoodwinked on Finance Data," (2006) with David Primo; *Roll Call*, June 15.
- (7) "Contribution Limits Silence Missouri Voters," (2006) with John Samples; *Columbia Daily Tribune*, June 13.
- (6) "Clean Elections Offer False Hope," (2005); *Connecticut Post*, February 20: p. B2.
- (5) "The Political Process Works," (2002); *USAToday*, October 2: p. 19A.
- (4) "Not Enough of a Good Thing," (2001); *Chicago Sun Times*, January 26: p. 39.
- (3) "Reform the Debate," (1999); *IntellectualCapital.Com*, September 9-16.
- (2) "Money Walks: Why Campaign Contributions Aren't as Corrupting as You Think," (1997); *Reason*, 29(3): 47-49. Reprinted in *Stand! American Government* (2000). Edited by Denise Scheberle. Coursewise Publishing, Inc.: Madison, WI.
- (1) "Lost Shepard," (1996) with Tim Groseclose; *The American Spectator*, 29(4): 55.

FISCAL ESTIMATE WORKSHEET

Fiscal Note: 4947-01

OVERVIEW-QUESTIONS

Bill No.: SB 1014

[Return to Worksheet](#) (double-click link) For form assistance, press F1 or refer to worksheet instructions.

Agency:	Department of Revenue	Date:	02/10/06
Preparer's Signature:	Brad Brester	Telephone:	573-526-2723
Approval Signature:	Michael Morris	E-Mail:	<u>Brad.Brester@dor.mo.gov</u>

1. Is this legislation federally mandated? ☐ Yes ☒ No
(If yes, cite specific law, court order or federal regulation.)
2. Does this proposal duplicate any other program? (Specify program and administering agency. Include applicable statutes or regulations.)

No
3. Does this proposal affect any other state agency or political subdivision? If so, which ones?
Yes, Secretary of State's Office
4. Will legislation result in a need for any additional capital improvements or rental space? (Give details for cost, square feet, location, etc.)
No.
5. Are any costs related to this proposal included in your current budget request?
No.
6. Will this legislation have an economic impact on small business?
No.
7. If you are including any costs for information technology (computers, video, communications, bandwidth, SAM II hookups, programming, software, outside

EXHIBIT

Appendix B

consulting, state data center charges, etc.) in the fiscal note response, have they been reviewed by the Office of Administration - Information Technology Services.

☐ Yes ☐ No (If no, why not?)

8. Will this legislation directly affect Total State Revenue? X Yes ☐ No
(If yes, explain how.) Yes, see #12

9. Please summarize how this bill would affect your agency.

Section 115.427.7 –

- Requires DOR to issue a nondriver license and waive the fee required under subsection 7 of 302.181 to any applicant who signs an affidavit verifying they do not have any other form of photographic personal identification (nondriver license) that meets subsection 1, which basically requires the document to be issued by the United States or state of Missouri. In addition, DOR must design and provide the affidavit that is required.
- Requires DOR to provide access to a mobile voter processing system to obtain the photograph and signature to produce the nondriver license for individuals that are physically unable to otherwise visit contract offices, because they are residents of facilities licensed under chapter 198, RSMo and they a physician statement to that affect.
- The total cost for processing and issuing any nondriver license photo identification must be paid for by the state through an appropriation to the Department of Revenue.
- Local election authorities may assist the department in issuing nondriver license photo identifications.

10. Long-range implications.

N/A

11. If this is a REVISED Fiscal Estimate Worksheet, please explain reason for revision.

N/A

12. Assumptions and methodology used in arriving at state fiscal impact. (List all references, personnel, and expenses and equipment to be requested by program in the bill. Include specific duties and responsibilities for new employees listed.)

ADMINISTRATIVE IMPACT

Constitutional Amendment 3 (2004) authorizes 3% of highway funds to be used to offset the actual cost to collect such funds by the Department of Revenue.

For purposes of this fiscal note, the department of revenue assumes all costs will be appropriated from the general revenue fund. Through the appropriations process, the general assembly may appropriate the constitutionally permissible highway fund amount to offset the general revenue fund cost shown in this fiscal note.

FISCAL NOTE WORKSHEET**Fiscal Note: 4947-01****Bill Number: SB 1014****Agency: Department of Revenue****Analyst: Brad Brester****Phone: 526-2723**

The department assumes that based on the language as written it would affect residents of facilities licensed under chapter 198 and any individual who does not otherwise now have a nondriver license.

41,536	Residents of facilities licensed under chapter 198 who are not likely to be physically able to ambulate to a polling site. <i>(based on statistics from the Department of Health and Senior Services as of January 11, 2006)</i>
x 5%	Estimated number of citizens who are eligible and may apply for a no cost nondriver license
2,077	Estimated annual nondriver licenses applicants

DOR assumes that field coordinators will provide mobile service to individuals that are physically unable to otherwise visit contract offices, because they are residents of facilities licensed under chapter 198, RSMo, who request a nondriver license photo identification and provide a physician's statement to such affect. Based on the estimated volume of applicants the department assumes that current staff levels will be sufficient to provide this service.

The department currently does not have mobile equipment to create a nondriver license; therefore, will incur costs for purchasing cameras and scanners to obtain the photographs and signatures required to produce the nondriver license. The photograph and signature will be electronically transmitted to the central office to create the nondriver license and to be mailed to the resident.

\$ 300	Sony Cyber-Shot 7.2MP
x 14	Field Coordinators
\$4,200	

\$ 200	Scanners
x 14	Field Coordinators
\$2,800	

Based on the current language as written the number of individuals who currently do not have a photographic personal identification would now be eligible for one at no cost, in addition the language can be interpreted to allow individuals who simply sign the affidavit even though they had or have an acceptable photographic personal identification to now obtain a nondriver at no cost.

The department used the Census for Missouri that showed 4,167,519 individuals 18 or older, then ran a program that indicates there are 3,998,304 individuals currently on the DOR system. Therefore, there are approximately 169,215 individuals who do not have a photographic personal identification.

FISCAL NOTE WORKSHEET

Fiscal Note: 4947-01
Bill Number: SB 1014

Agency: Department of Revenue
Analyst: Brad Brester

Phone: 526-2723

138,063	Estimated number of individuals who do not currently have a photographic personal identification. <i>(based on the census population of individuals 18 and older, compared to the driver license system = 169,215 AND minus 75% of the individuals previously shown that are residents under chapter 198 = 41,536 x 75% = 31,152)</i>
x 50%	Estimated number of individuals who will apply for a nondriver license. <i>(based on a four average voter turnout for Missouri)</i>
69,032	Potential nondriver license applicants first year of implementation only

In addition, because the language allows a person to apply for a nondriver license to simply sign an affidavit indicating they do not have a photographic personal identification, applicants who apply for a new, renewal or duplicate nondriver license may do so at no cost.

88,989	Total number of nondriver (new, renewal, duplicate) transactions issued in 2005
x 25%	Estimated number of applicants that would utilize the affidavit indicating that they do not have any other form of photographic personal identification; therefore, would be eligible for a nondriver license at no fee
22,247	Estimated annual nondriver license applicants

The department will also incur forms, envelopes and postage cost for printing the license and mailing the license to individuals who are not physically able to ambulate to a polling site. In addition, the department will incur costs for providing an affidavit to individuals applying for nondriver license (no cost).

FY07, FY08 & FY09

2,077
x \$.43 (\$.04 envelope & \$.39 postage, licensing material cost is shown in volume below)
\$ 893

FY07

93,356 Estimated number of applicants that will apply for a nondriver license
x \$1.86 Licensing material
\$173,642

FISCAL NOTE WORKSHEET

Fiscal Note: 4947-01
Bill Number: SB 1014

Agency: Department of Revenue
Analyst: Brad Brester

Phone: 526-2723

FY08 & FY09

24,324	Estimated number of annual applicants that will apply for a nondriver license
x <u>\$1.86</u>	Licensing material
\$ 45,243	

FY07

91,279	Estimated number of applicants that will require an affidavit
x <u>\$0.025</u>	Affidavit
\$ 2,282	

FY08 & FY09

22,247	Estimated number of applicants that will require an affidavit
x <u>\$0.025</u>	Affidavit
\$ 556	

REVENUE IMPACT

Because the language requires the nondriver license to be provided by the department to an applicant who signs an affidavit stating that they do not have any other form of photographic personal identification at no cost there will be a potential loss in revenue as indicated below.

This proposal has an emergency clause; therefore, it becomes effective the date the Governor signs the bill. For purposes of this fiscal the revenue decrease is calculated for a full twelve months of FY07.

FY07

2,077	Annual applicants for nondriver license from a chapter 198 residents
69,032	Applicants that have never had a nondriver license the will only apply the first year of implementation
+22,247	Annual applicants for new, renewal or duplicate
93,356	Estimated nondriver license
x <u>\$6</u>	Nondriver license fee
\$560,136	Total potential revenue decrease

FY08 & FY09

2,077	Annual applicants for nondriver license from a chapter 198 residents
+ 22,247	Annual applicants for new, renewal or duplicate
24,324	Estimated nondriver license
x <u>\$6</u>	Nondriver license fee
\$145,944	Total potential revenue decrease

FISCAL NOTE WORKSHEET

Fiscal Note: 4947-01
Bill Number: SB 1014

Agency: Department of Revenue
Analyst: Brad Brester

Phone: 526-2723

Technical Memo

Technical Errors:

The department assumes that all lawful presence requirements will still be required and state funds will not be utilized to obtain those documents.

In addition, if the intent of this proposal is to not require the collection of the processing fee required pursuant to section 136.055, RSMo, language should be added to section 115.427 to clarify that there is no processing fee required.

FISCAL NOTE WORKSHEET

Fiscal Note: 4947-01
Bill Number: SB 1014

Agency: Department of Revenue
Analyst: Brad Brester

Phone: 526-2723

Comment Memo

Comments:

The department assumes that all lawful presence requirements will still be required and state funds will not be utilized to obtain those documents.

In addition, if the intent of this proposal is to not require the collection of the processing fee required pursuant to section 136.055, RSMo, language should be added to section 115.427 to clarify that there is no processing fee required.

RASMUSSEN REPORTS

Sign up now for...
ElectionEdge™ 2006

"The most comprehensive public
opinion coverage ever provided for
a mid-term election."

RR

Premium Members Only

Thoughts on the Voting System in the United States

Rasmussen Reports Home

Daily Snapshot

Scott's Page

Daily Updates

Bush Job Approval

3-Day

7-Day

Economic--3-Day Tracking

Rasmussen Index Summary

Ratings--U.S. Economy

Ratings--Personal Finance

Economy--Better/Worse

Personal--Better/Worse

U.S. in Recession?

Daily Data Bank

Economic--7-Day Tracking

Rasmussen Index Summary

Ratings--U.S. Economy

Ratings--Personal Finance

Economy--Better/Worse

Personal--Better/Worse

U.S. in Recession?

Daily Data Bank

Election 2004 Summary

GOP Generation-2004

Rasmussen Reports Tracking Surveys

500 Interviews per State

Surveys conducted July 17 - August 15, 2006. Click on State for details.
(Question wording below table)

Thoughts on the voting system in the United States											
	Driver's License		English		Eligible prevented		Ineligible allowed		Badly broken		
	Yes	No	Only	Spanish	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
AK	81	13	62	34	x	x	x	x	50	32	AK
AL	88	9	70	29	19	53	31	40	56	31	AL
AR	86	10	69	27	18	51	24	41	51	35	AR
AZ	85	11	68	30	20	51	36	33	58	29	AZ
CO	85	9	67	28	18	51	22	41	49	38	CO
FL	92	5	58	39	27	47	32	38	53	34	FL
GA	78	18	70	27	23	55	30	42	53	31	GA
HI	85	10	56	37	26	41	20	47	48	36	HI
IA	78	16	67	30	20	43	18	39	54	34	IA
IL	79	13	62	37	27	47	28	46	50	34	IL
KS	79	14	68	29	15	53	23	40	49	32	KS
MA	84	19	56	42	30	41	24	44	56	30	MA
MD	82	12	54	42	31	42	24	44	57	30	MD
ME	67	24	61	34	27	43	26	41	59	29	ME
MI	78	16	66	32	24	46	26	37	56	32	MI
MN	83	13	58	39	23	51	26	38	53	32	MN
MT	84	11	72	25	19	55	30	35	57	31	MT
NE	81	13	78	19	14	58	23	42	47	35	NE
NJ	74	16	62	34	26	42	22	43	54	32	NJ
NV	87	11	71	28	19	46	33	30	55	34	NV
NY	73	17	52	45	34	37	22	45	61	28	NY
OH	76	18	69	27	28	46	27	40	60	29	OH
PA	78	14	68	30	19	49	26	38	58	30	PA
RI	82	11	64	33	25	38	21	33	55	27	RI
SC	80	16	61	37	28	45	24	44	53	31	SC
TN	83	12	77	21	18	49	30	57	56	28	TN
TX	83	13	58	40	22	49	28	33	48	37	TX
VA	80	14	59	37	28	48	23	40	50	36	VA
VT	60	29	49	47	28	40	17	44	63	24	VT
WA	75	15	63	33	24	48	39	35	55	31	WA
WI	78	17	62	33	26	44	30	34	55	31	WI
WY	78	16	71	26	20	38	25	34	59	27	WY

EXHIBIT

Appendix C

1 Should voters be required to show photo identification such as a drivers license before being allowed to vote?*

2 Should election ballots be printed in English only or should they be printed in English and Spanish?*

3 n most elections, are large numbers of people prevented from voting who should be allowed to vote*

4 Okay... in most elections, are large numbers of people allowed to vote who are not eligible to vote?*

5 Some people say that America's political system is badly broken. Do you agree?*

Rasmussen Reports is an electronic publishing firm specializing in the collection, publication, and distribution of public opinion polling information.

The Rasmussen Reports ElectionEdge™ Premium Service for Election 2006 offers the most comprehensive public opinion coverage ever provided for a mid-term election. We update the President's Job Approval Ratings daily and are polling every Senate and Governor's race at least once a month in 2006.

Rasmussen Reports was the nation's most accurate polling firm during the Presidential election and the only one to project both Bush and Kerry's vote total within half a percentage point of the actual outcome.

During Election 2004, RasmussenReports.com was also the top-ranked public opinion research site on the web. We had twice as many visitors as our nearest competitor and nearly as many as all competitors combined.

Scott Rasmussen, president of Rasmussen Reports, has been an independent pollster for more than a decade.

2002 SPPQ BEST PAPER AWARD WINNER***How Postregistration Laws Affect the Turnout of
Citizens Registered to Vote***

Raymond E. Wolfinger, *University of California, Berkeley*

Benjamin Highton, *University of California, Davis*

Megan Mullin, *University of California, Berkeley*

ABSTRACT

A well-established scholarly tradition links lower voting costs with higher turnout. Whereas previous research emphasized the costs imposed by requiring voter registration, our research assesses postregistration costs and state policies that can make it easier for registered citizens to vote. These policies include mailing each registrant a sample ballot and information about the location of his or her polling place, providing a longer voting day, and requiring firms to give their employees time off to vote. Using the 2000 Voter Supplement to the Current Population Survey, we find that all but the last of these provisions enhance turnout, especially by the young and the less educated. Compared to a state that does none of these things, the estimated turnout of high school dropouts is nearly 11 percentage points higher in a state with these "best practices"; their effect on young registrants is nearly 10 points. Because African American and Latino registrants are disproportionately younger and less educated, they would benefit disproportionately from universal adoption of such postregistration laws. We estimate that if every state adopted these best practices, overall turnout of those registered would increase approximately three percentage points.

THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM has long been known for moderate levels of electoral participation (Mackie and Rose 1991). State-level procedures for citizens to establish and maintain their eligibility to vote contribute to our low ranking in international comparisons; when states make registration easier, turnout is higher (Highton 2004). States also sometimes enact policies aimed at making it easier for their registered citizens to get to the polls and vote on election day. They may mail a sample ballot to registrants, perhaps along with information about the location of their polling place.

State Politics and Policy Quarterly, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Spring 2005): pp. 1–23



Polls may be open from dawn until 9:00 p.m., and firms may be required to give employees time off to vote. Do these efforts increase turnout? To answer this question, we examine the effects that these postregistration provisions have on the turnout of people who are registered to vote. We focus on three questions: What are the effects of each postregistration provision on voter turnout? What types of people are more affected by postregistration laws? What are the combined effects of these postregistration “best practices” on overall turnout rates?

EXPLAINING VOTER TURNOUT

The conventional approach to explaining voter turnout has been to analyze variations in the voting rates of different types of Americans, most often defined in demographic terms. Scholars have concluded that, controlling for other characteristics, who votes can be explained largely by education, age, and residential stability (Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980; Leighley and Nagler 1992; Teixeira 1992; Rosenstone and Hansen 1993). These three factors account for most other group differences in electoral participation, including the lower turnout of blacks and Latinos (Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980, 90–3; Highton and Burris 2002).

Scholars have also reached consensus on the effect on turnout of state laws prescribing how, when, and where citizens can register to vote (Highton 2004). The most consequential legal provision is the registration deadline. Allowing citizens to register at the polls on election day, as six states do, is more effective in encouraging voting. North Dakota, where voter registration was abolished in 1951, provides the most permissive voting environment.¹

Because restrictive registration laws are impediments to voting that many people can overcome, permissive registration procedures are not equally advantageous for everyone. For example, Highton (1997) found that less-educated people particularly benefit from election-day registration, presumably because they are less likely to anticipate the need to register in advance. Permissive registration arrangements are also especially beneficial to younger citizens (Teixeira 1992, 119; Highton and Wolfinger 1998, 84–9), who have been eligible to vote in fewer elections.

EXPLAINING THE TURNOUT OF REGISTRANTS

In most studies of voter turnout, the dependent variable has been the percentage of citizens who vote (see, e.g., Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980; Rosenstone and Hansen 1993). With the exception of North Dakota and the six

election-day registration states wherein registration and voting can be one essentially continuous act, participation in an American election requires two actions that are separate in time and space: registration and voting. Arguably, registration is the more daunting task, since it lacks the immediate gratification of voting and can be more difficult, “often involving more obscure information and a longer journey at a less convenient time [and] a more complicated procedure” (Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980, 61).

Once registered, Americans are very likely to vote (Erikson 1981; Glass, Squire, and Wolfinger 1983). The 86 percent turnout rate of registrants in 2000 is near the mean for the past two decades.² In the 1980s, this finding led legislators and groups interested in increasing voter turnout to concentrate on making registration easier, rather than on measures that could affect only people who were already registered, such as holding elections on Sunday. The principal author of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (nicknamed the Motor Voter law) became supportive of this approach after learning “that while U.S. voter turnout is far behind European countries, the percentage of registered voters in this country who vote compares favorably to other Western democracies” (Swift 1984, 13).³

Finding that such a high proportion of registrants actually voted, one research team concluded that “registration is virtually equivalent to voting” (Squire, Wolfinger, and Glass 1987, 47). This assertion exemplified academic irrational exuberance; clearly, millions who had taken the trouble to register nevertheless failed to vote. The turnout of those registered to vote, while high, is not 100 percent. These researchers did not assess which registrants were more likely to vote, other than noting that the demographic variables that best predicted turnout were only modestly related to the turnout of registrants (Squire, Wolfinger, and Glass 1987, 48).

Almost a decade passed before research was published that tried to explain the turnout of registrants. Jackson (1996) found that the effects of individual characteristics, especially education, income, and residential mobility, on the turnout of registrants were much weaker than their effects on registration. Jackson used one state-level policy variable, the registration closing date, when analyzing registration and turnout among his entire sample. The other published study to model registration and registrants’ turnout separately included two policy variables: the closing date and the number of years before a name was purged from registration lists (Timpone 1998, 155). Neither Jackson nor Timpone included state-level postregistration procedures in their models of the turnout of registrants. To the best of our knowledge, the length of the voting day is the only postregistration variable whose effect has been studied empirically. Extended polling hours had a

modest positive effect on overall voter turnout in 1972, measured as a proportion of the entire population, registered and unregistered alike: “keeping the polls open for fourteen hours instead of twelve hours increases from 1 percent to 3 percent the probability that an individual will vote” (Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980, 71–2).⁴ Accordingly, we believe that ours is the first examination of the effect of postregistration laws on the turnout of those registered to vote.

Our study expands the familiar costs/benefits turnout model. While registration may be the more demanding task, voting is not wholly or universally costless. Our assessment provides evidence to help state policymakers craft statutes that will facilitate voting by those citizens who have already surmounted the registration barrier.

DATA SOURCES AND MODEL

Our individual-level data are from the 2000 Voter Supplement of the Current Population Survey (CPS) (United States Department of Commerce 2001). The United States Census Bureau conducts the CPS each month primarily to gather data on unemployment. The basic questionnaire asks for detailed demographic data, and monthly supplements solicit information on an additional topic, such as Internet use, smoking, or child care. In November of even-numbered years, the Voter Supplement asks about citizenship status, voter registration, and voting. An important feature of the Voter Supplement is its immense sample, which provided data on voting for 74,174 citizens in 2000.⁵ This is particularly useful for studies that require state-level data, as the smallest state sample in our analysis has 733 cases. The huge sample also is essential for analyzing subgroups that are sparsely represented in conventional surveys, such as elderly Latino citizens in states with permissive postregistration laws or young adults living with their parents.

Sample size is not the only CPS advantage. The completion rate for the 2000 Voter Supplement was 87 percent.⁶ This compares very favorably to the aggregate response rate of just 52 percent for the 2000 National Election Study (NES) (Burns et al. 2002), the other common source of data for analyses of voter turnout.⁷ Furthermore, Voter Supplement interviewing is finished by the third week in November, while NES field work drags on well into December, increasing the chances of response error.

Because we are seeking to analyze how postregistration laws affect the turnout of those registered to vote, we excluded from our analysis the six states that permitted election-day registration in 2000: Idaho, Maine, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Wisconsin, and Wyoming, as well as North Dakota,

whose voters do not register at all. We also excluded Oregon, where everyone voted by mail in 2000. Mail voting allows registrants to vote at their convenience, at home, with the ballot in front of them, thus eliminating the relevance of our postregistration policy variables. The same logic led us to delete from our sample all absentee voters in the remaining 42 states; 10 percent of registrants used absentee ballots in 2000.⁸ These exclusions left us with 44,859 cases in our dataset, including 4,810 African Americans, 2,462 Latinos, 4,878 citizens without a high school diploma, and 12,685 college graduates. Using these CPS data, a state-by-state analysis of turnout in 2000 of those registered to vote revealed variation from 79 to 92 percent among the states.

The four postregistration provisions we analyze are polling hours, time off work to vote, mailing sample ballots to registrants, and mailing polling place information to registrants. Our data on these policies came from several sources. We began by consulting the Federal Election Commission (FEC) Web site for information on polling hours. We searched the Web sites of the 42 secretaries of state to confirm these FEC data and to learn about mailing sample ballots and polling place information. No Web site had all the necessary data, so we contacted all secretaries of state directly, first by email and then by telephone. Where state sources differed from the FEC, we called to confirm the information given by the state source and then used it in our analysis. We also examined legal codes in 10 states to verify the information we gathered through this procedure. In eight cases, the laws matched previous responses with apparent discrepancies satisfactorily explained. In the two remaining cases, we double-checked with state sources and found that, although not required by law, information had been sent to registrants in 2000.⁹

An important challenge was how to deal with intrastate variation in our coding scheme. In three states, elections were conducted by county officials, and the state did not collect information about pre-election mailings. In five states, polling hours varied across localities. In all such cases, we used local government Web sites and surveyed each state's most populous counties to identify the legal provisions affecting the greatest proportion of the state's residents. This strategy, which inescapably incorporated some measurement error, was our best option for coping with messy reality. Our final coding decisions for each state in our analysis are provided in Table A1.

To assess the effects of postregistration policies, we estimated a multivariate logit model of whether a registrant voted. The independent variables to test our hypotheses were: 1) legal provisions concerning time: polls open before 7:00 a.m., polls open after 7:00 p.m., time off work for state employ-

ees, and time off work for private workers; and 2) provisions concerning the state furnishing voting information: mailed sample ballots and mailed information regarding polling places. State-level control variables were region (South/non-South), CNN identification as a battleground state in the 2000 presidential contest, and a concurrent gubernatorial or senatorial election.¹⁰ Following Jackson (1996) and Timpone (1998), individual-level control variables in the model were employment status, education, age, family income, race, and residential stability.

Table 1 displays the logit parameter estimates of impacts on registrants' turnout in 2000. To interpret the estimated effects of postregistration laws, we computed turnout probabilities based on the logit estimates. For each value of every variable of interest, we calculated the predicted probability that a registrant in our sample would vote with the values of the other variables kept at their actual levels. The mean of these probabilities gives a predicted overall turnout level for each value of a variable. The difference between the figures is our estimate of the effect of a particular variable. For example, to calculate the effect of longer morning polling hours, we calculated two probabilities for each registrant in our sample. The first probability was based on setting the value of morning polling hours to zero (polls not open before 7:00 a.m.) and keeping the values of all other variables at their actual levels. The second probability was calculated by setting the value of morning polling hours to one (polls open before 7:00 a.m.) and keeping the values of all the other variables at their actual levels. These calculated probabilities were then averaged across all respondents for each value of each postregistration policy variable. In our sample, the mean predicted turnout percentages for the morning hours variable were 83.6 and 85.3, respectively. The difference between these values is our estimate of the effect of opening the polls before 7:00 a.m. on the turnout of registrants. Thus, we estimate that early morning polling hours increased this turnout by 1.7 percentage points.

RESULTS

Time to Vote

We used three measures of voting hours: *early voting*, defined as whether polls were open before 7:00 a.m.; *late voting*, defined as whether polls were open after 7:00 p.m.; and *total voting hours*. Twelve of our 42 states offered early voting. A bivariate analysis indicates that the turnout of registrants with more time to vote early in the morning was about two percentage points higher than in the other 30 states in our sample (Table 2). By the same token, more time to vote in the evening also appeared to increase turnout in our sample.

In the 19 states where the polls were open after 7:00 p.m., the turnout of registrants was about three points greater than elsewhere. Table 2 also shows the bivariate differences between states classified by the total number of hours their polls were open. There was a difference of nearly five percentage points between states with polls open 11 or 12 hours a day and those open longer.¹¹ In short, whether measured as more time in the morning, more time in the evening, or just the total number of hours the polls are open, these bivariate

Table 1. Logit Estimates of Influences on Turnout of Registrants, 2000

	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error
Early voting	.14	.03**
Late voting	.08	.04**
Mailed polling place information	.24	.12**
Mailed polling place information × Education	-.08	.04**
Mailed sample ballots	.29	.12**
Mailed sample ballots × Education	-.09	.04**
Mailed sample ballots × Age 18–24 (live with parents)	.01	.12
Mailed sample ballots × Age 18–24 (live without parents)	.33	.13**
Time off work for state employees	.06	.05
Time off work for state employees × State employee	-.03	.19
Time off work for private employees	-.19	.05**
Time off work for private employees × Private employee	.03	.06
State employee	.02	.16
Private employee	-.28	.06**
Employed	.28	.05**
Education	.52	.02**
Age	.11	.01**
Age squared/100	-.08	.01**
Age 18–24 (live with parents)	.42	.08**
Age 18–24 (live without parents)	.14	.07**
Family income	.16	.01**
Black	.41	.04**
Latino	-.10	.05*
Asian	-.43	.10**
Residential stability	.29	.02**
South	-.19	.04**
Battleground state	.08	.03**
Concurrent senatorial/gubernatorial election	-.09	.04**
Constant	-3.82	.16**
Number of observations	44,859	
-2 * log likelihood (initial)	39,196	
-2 * log likelihood (final)	35,473	
Percent correctly predicted	84	
Pseudo-R ²	.095	

* p<.10; ** p<.05

Source: 2000 Current Population Survey Voter Supplement (United States Department of Commerce 2001)

Table 2. Polling Hours and the Turnout of Registrants, 2000

	Turnout of Registrants (%)	
	Overall	Employed
Early voting		
Polls open at 7:00 a.m. or later	83.4	83.9
Polls open before 7:00 a.m.	85.6	86.6
difference	+2.2	+2.7
Late voting		
Polls close at 7:00 p.m. or before	82.5	83.1
Polls close after 7:00 p.m.	85.7	86.5
difference	+3.2	+3.4
Total voting hours		
11 or 12 hours	81.0	81.7
13, 14, or 15 hours	85.9	86.6
difference	+4.9	+4.9
n	44,859	30,369
	Overall	State Employees
Time off work for state employees		
No	84.1	89.1
Yes	84.2	89.3
difference	+0.1	+0.2
n	44,859	1,508
	Overall	Private Employees
Time off work for private employees		
No	85.1	84.1
Yes	83.5	82.1
difference	-1.6	-2.0
n	44,859	21,578

Source: 2000 Current Population Survey Voter Supplement (United States Department of Commerce 2001)

relationships are consistent with the proposition that longer polling hours facilitate increased voting of registrants.

The hypothesis that longer polling hours lead to higher turnout is based on the assumption that many registrants would like to vote but decide not to do so because of stronger demands on their time. If the most formidable competing demand is work, it follows that a longer voting day would be of greatest benefit to people who are employed. But, as the second column in Table 2 shows, the data do not support this hypothesis. Employed registrants were only slightly advantaged (half a percentage point) by more time to vote in the morning and helped even less by more time after work. But more total hours to vote seems to have provided no greater advantage to the working population than to their fellow citizens, most of whom presumably had more free time to vote.

One way to expand opportunities for potential voters is to provide time off for them to vote during the work day. Thirty-one states permit state government employees to leave their posts to vote (*time off work for state employees*). But, as Table 2 shows, registered state government workers are inclined to vote irrespective of this inducement. When given time off to vote, their turnout was minimally (0.2 percentage points) higher than that of their counterparts in the other 11 states in our sample, which do not offer this benefit. The results were much the same for private sector employees. Two dozen states require private firms to give their workers time off to vote (*time off work for private employees*). The turnout of registered private employees in these states is actually two percentage points lower than in states that do not provide such an impetus to civic duty, an anomalous result that we explore further below.

Multivariate estimates of the effects of having more time to vote are generally consistent with these bivariate results (Table 1). The effect of the length of time available to vote did not depend on whether a person had a job.¹² In a preliminary model, we estimated the effects of the two polling-hour variables—early voting and late voting—and the interaction between each of these variables and being employed. The estimated effects of both interactions were tiny and statistically indistinguishable from zero.¹³ Therefore, we excluded these interaction terms from the final model reported in Table 1. Overall, longer polling hours appear to facilitate voting. But in contrast to the bivariate indication that longer evening polling time is more consequential than longer morning time, the multivariate analysis reveals the opposite; the 1.7 percentage point estimated effect of opening voting before 7:00 a.m. exceeds the estimated 1.0 point impact of keeping the polls open past 7:00 p.m.

The logit results also reveal virtually no relationship between mandating time off from work for voting and registrants' turnout. Neither the coefficient for time off for state workers nor its interaction with state workers (*time off work for state employees* \times *state employee*) was statistically significant. Similarly, the turnout of registered private employees in states with mandatory time off is statistically indistinguishable from that of such employees in states without this guarantee.¹⁴ Thus, the only effect of postregistration policy related to time for voting is that longer voting days increase the overall turnout of registrants.

INFORMATION ABOUT VOTING

Our two other postregistration policy variables—*mailed sample ballots* and *mailed polling place information*—provide registrants not time, but informa-

tion. The left-hand column in Table 3 shows the bivariate relationships for these two measures. In nine states, all registrants were mailed information about the location of their polling place. Turnout of registrants in these states was 2.5 percentage points higher than in the remaining 33 states in our sample. Receiving a sample ballot in the mail may also provide useful information to registrants, thus facilitating voting. Seven states sent registrants sample ballots in 2000, and their turnout was two points higher than that of registrants in the other 35 states.¹⁵

The impact of additional information in general, and of such specific and practical information in particular, depends on the likelihood that one would have acquired it already. Therefore, the probability of voting for people already possessing the information contained in the mailings, or those with more capacity or inclination to seek such information, will be less affected by them. This generalization leads to two specific propositions: the impact of receiving polling place information or a sample ballot on the probability of voting will be in inverse relation to a registrant's 1) education and 2) age. The tests of these two propositions are more easily described separately.

Education. Our first examination of the interaction effect of informational postregistration laws and registrants' education on the probability of such registrant voting is displayed in the four right-hand columns of Table 3. The results are consistent with our hypothesis. These policies have greater effects on turnout among people who had not attended college and the most pronounced effects for high school dropouts. Among the least educated, turnout was 7.4 percentage points higher for registrants in states that send

Table 3. Information about Voting and the Turnout of Registrants, 2000

	Turnout of Registrants (%)				
	Overall	Less than High School	High School Diploma	Some College	College Degree
Mailed polling place information					
No	83.5	69.2	80.5	84.9	92.0
Yes	86.0	76.6	82.8	84.8	92.4
difference	+2.5	+7.4	+2.3	-0.1	+0.4
Mailed sample ballots					
No	83.7	69.7	80.6	84.9	92.2
Yes	85.7	75.9	82.7	84.7	92.1
difference	+2.0	+6.2	+2.1	-0.2	-0.1
n	44,859	4,945	14,104	13,212	12,597

Source: 2000 Current Population Survey Voter Supplement (United States Department of Commerce 2001)

out polling place information. The impact was nearly as great (6.2 points) for the least-educated registrants in states that mail out sample ballots. On the other hand, differences in turnout were virtually nonexistent among registrants with at least some exposure to college.

We found that these relationships remained similar when we introduced control variables in the multivariate analysis (Table 1). The interaction effect of education with each information policy variable is negative and statistically significant. Receiving information about where to vote enhanced the turnout of registrants lacking a high school diploma by an estimated 2.9 percentage points; mailed sample ballots boosted their turnout by 3.9 points (Table 4). On the other hand, the estimated effects for high school graduates without any exposure to college were 1.2 and 2.0 points, respectively. Registrants who had attended college appear to have been unaffected by either informational postregistration measure, as the estimated effects are small and cannot confidently be statistically distinguished from zero.¹⁶ These findings support our hypothesis of the conditional effect of information: providing information matters more for people who are less likely to have acquired it elsewhere.

Youth. The second hypothesis following from our generalization involves young registrants, whose opportunities to acquire practical political information are limited and whose disinclination to vote is notorious. In 2000, just 42 percent of citizens between the ages of 18 and 24 cast ballots, compared to 70 percent of those over 24. In part, this reflects a registration disparity, with 59 percent for those under 25 in our sample being registered to vote versus 81 percent of everyone else. But even among those who manage to register, turnout is still lower among the young, as only 73 percent of young registrants voted, compared to 88 percent of older registrants.

Personal circumstances are more likely to reduce the value of postregis-

Table 4. Estimated Effects of Postregistration Information on the Turnout of Registrants, 2000

Education	Estimated Turnout Effect (%)	
	Mailed Polling Place Information	Mailed Sample Ballots
Less than high school	+2.9	+3.9
High school diploma	+1.2	+2.0
Some college	+0.6	+0.6
College degree	-0.6	-0.3
Overall	+0.6	+1.2

Note: Estimated effects were calculated using the logit estimates in Table 1 by the procedure described in the text.

tration provisions for younger citizens. Forty-seven percent of young citizens are still in school and 37 percent are full-time college students. With other demographic variables controlled, students are more likely to vote than non-students (Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980, 56–7; Highton and Wolfinger 2001, 206–7). This impact on turnout has been ascribed to the amount and intensity of political rhetoric on campuses and the wider and easier access to information about electoral mechanics found there, a situation that may reduce the added value of informational mailings. Moreover, 53 percent of young adults live with their parents, compared to just 5 percent of older citizens. This is associated with moderately lower overall turnout (Highton and Wolfinger 2001, 207). More important for our hypothesis, however, is that a multigenerational home, like a college campus, provides a richer information environment, the result being that postregistration mailings might have less impact.¹⁷

In the nine states where everyone on the voter registration list was mailed information about where to vote, 72 percent of registrants under 25 voted compared to 67.6 percent in the remaining 33 states in our dataset. Sample ballots also provide information that is likely to be especially informative, if not necessarily reassuring, to those facing their first visit to a polling place. Seeing the complete list of candidate races and ballot questions in the format that the voter will face in the voting booth might reduce the uncertainty associated with voting for the first time and give the novice voter more time to make his or her decision. Over 73 percent of youthful registrants voted in the seven states that mailed sample ballots, while just 67.3 percent did so in the remaining 35 states in our sample.

Multivariate analysis of the effect of the two postregistration information measures on all registrants, irrespective of age, yielded a 0.6 percentage point aggregate estimated effect for polling place information and a 1.2 point effect for sample ballots. The effect was inversely related to education for both election procedures. To test the hypothesis that information policies have a greater effect on young registrants, we included interactions between youth (distinguishing students from non-students and those who live with their parents from those who do not) and mailing polling place information and sample ballots. The only substantial interaction we found was that the impact of mailing sample ballots was greater among young people who had left home (7.1 points). Among young registrants still living with their parents, however, the turnout effects of mailing sample ballots were indistinguishable from the effects of mailing sample ballots to older registrants. Moreover, we found no meaningful interaction between being a student and either of the informational measures.

MINORITY REGISTRANTS

African Americans and Latinos have common demographic characteristics and are also self-conscious interest groups represented by active and well-funded organizations in Washington and state capitals. In either manifestation, they are major actors in both electoral politics and policymaking, relying more than most groups on their voting capacity. Ballot access has always been a paramount consideration for these groups (Vedlitz 1985), as it would be for any interest group whose influence is derived more from numbers than from money, political expertise, or some other resource. Black commitment to electoral strategies is enhanced by a century of wholesale disenfranchisement in the South that ended only with the Voting Rights Act of 1965.¹⁸ A generation later, "[t]he overwhelming majority of Black Americans believe in voting as a means to achieve group empowerment" (Tate 1993, 75). In 2001, the Congressional Black Caucus made "overhauling elections its No. 1 priority" (Cochran 2001, 1150).¹⁹ Latinos also have pursued an electoral strategy through organizations like the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project. For these reasons, we examined the effects of postregistration policies on African Americans and Latinos.

At present, black mobilization is greater than that of Latinos. Sixty-six percent of blacks voted in the last presidential election, which is just three percentage points less than whites (United States Department of Commerce 2001). However, only 50 percent of Latinos voted in 2000. In part, this disparity reflects their lower registration rate: 65 percent for Latinos compared to 80 percent for whites and 78 percent for blacks. But turnout also lags among registered Latinos (de la Garza 2001). Seventy-nine percent of Latino registrants voted in 2000, compared with 85 percent of black registrants and 87 percent of white registrants.

To assess the influence of race on the impact of postregistration policies, we re-estimated the logit turnout model (Table 1), adding interactions between each policy and each group. To minimize multicollinearity, we estimated interactions between postregistration policies and one racial group at a time. The results strongly suggest that there were no direct effects of postregistration policies on the turnout of either African American or Latino registrants. Virtually all of the estimated interaction effects were small in magnitude with large standard errors. There was no significant improvement in the fit of the overall model with any of these interactions added.

Although there appears to be no direct effect of postregistration policy on minority registrant turnout, disparate effects are still likely. We have shown that postregistration information policies are particularly helpful to younger

and less-educated registrants, and Latinos and blacks are younger and less educated than whites (Citron and Highton 2002). While these differences are more pronounced in the entire population, they are far from trivial among registrants. In our dataset, 9 percent of white registrants were under 25 years of age, compared to 12 percent of black registrants and 13 percent of Latino registrants. Educational disparities were greater: just 9 percent of white registrants failed to graduate from high school compared to 18 percent of black registrants and 25 percent of Latino registrants. Thirty-one percent of white registrants were college graduates, compared to 18 percent of black registrants and 16 percent of Latino registrants. These demographic profiles suggest that postregistration laws could have disparate impact on minority registrants, even if it is not directly attributable to their race.

COMBINED TURNOUT EFFECTS: ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF BEST PRACTICES

Our results indicate that extended polling hours and postregistration mailings increase turnout among those registered to vote. The first three columns of Table 5 report the combined estimated effects of postregistration laws on registrant turnout based on the model in Table 1. We compare predicted turnout probabilities for people in two hypothetical states, one with the “worst practices” and the other with the “best practices.” To calculate these estimates, we used the logit coefficients in Table 1 to generate two predicted probabilities of voting for each registrant in the sample. The first was calculated after setting the value of each of the postregistration variables to its lowest value, which corresponds to a hypothetical state that 1) does not extend polling hours in the morning or evening and 2) mails neither sample ballots nor polling place information to its registrants (worst practices). The second turnout probability was calculated after setting the value of each postregistration variable to its highest value, corresponding to a state that 1) extends morning and evening polling place hours and 2) mails sample ballots and polling place information to registrants (best practices). For each registrant in the sample, the difference in the two probabilities represents the estimated combined effect of all these postregistration laws. We aggregate these individuals into various groups and take the mean difference of these estimates to yield the estimates of the combined effects of these laws on different groups, which are displayed in Table 5.

The last line in Table 5 shows that the overall estimated turnout of registrants in the most favorable legal context (best practices) is 4.3 percentage points greater than in the least favorable legal context (worst practices).

Reflecting our earlier findings in the model of registrant turnout (Table 1), the combined effect of best practices varies widely by education, age, and race. The first set of entries in Table 5 shows varying effects by educational attainment. The widest estimated gap is 10.7 percentage points for high school dropouts; this dwindles to less than one point for college graduates. The estimated effect for young adults is just a bit smaller (9.7 points) than for high school dropouts. Due to age and educational differences, there are also racial differences, with a larger effect of postregistration best practices on Latino registrants (6.8 points) than black (4.8) or white registrants (4.0).

To estimate how nationwide turnout might change if every state adopted these postregistration best practices, we must take into account the fact that some states have already adopted various components of them. As a result, projected turnout increases under universal adoption of best practices are smaller than the differences between the hypothetical best and worst practice states reported in the third column of Table 5. Moreover, there are differences in the demographic composition of states' pools of registrants that will affect the overall impact of universal best practice adoption. For example, about 50 percent of Latinos live in states that currently mail sample ballots and

Table 5. Estimated Effects of Best and Worst Practices in Postregistration Procedures on the Turnout of Registrants, 2000

	Estimated Turnout with Worst Practices (%)	Estimated Turnout with Best Practices (%)	Difference (%)	Projected Turnout Increase with Universal Adoption of Best Practices (%)
Education				
Less than high school	68.4	79.1	10.7	7.5
High school diploma	78.5	84.7	6.2	4.1
Some college	84.3	87.6	3.3	2.1
College degree	91.4	92.2	0.8	0.3
Age				
18–24	65.9	75.6	9.7	6.8
25+	84.5	88.2	3.7	2.4
Race				
White	83.5	87.5	4.0	2.6
Black	82.8	87.6	4.8	3.3
Latino	74.0	80.8	6.8	4.3
Overall	82.7	87.0	4.3	2.8

Note: Worst practices are defined as no extended polling place hours and mailing neither sample ballots nor polling place information to registrants. Best practices are defined as extended polling place hours and mailing sample ballots and polling place information to registrants. Estimated effects were calculated using the logit estimates in Table 1 by the procedure described in the text.

polling place information to registrants, whereas the corresponding figures for whites and blacks are closer to 25 percent.²⁰

Overall, we project that the turnout of registrants would have increased by 2.8 percentage points in 2000 if all states had adopted postregistration best practices. The magnitude of this increase is inversely related to educational attainment and age. With nationwide use of best practices, the turnout of registrants without a high school diploma would have risen 7.5 percentage points, high school graduates would have experienced a 4.1 point increase, and the effect would have been modest to negligible for those with college education. Similarly, the benefit for young adult registrants would have been almost three times as great as for those over the age of 24. Latino turnout would have increased 4.3 percentage points, compared to 3.3 and 2.6 percentage points for blacks and whites, respectively.

POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Advocates of legal change to expand access to the ballot must contend with arguments that easier access would provide more opportunities for vote fraud. The postregistration laws we analyze do not have this disadvantage. Neither a rich imagination nor scrutiny of discussions on election reform has turned up claims that more information or more time to vote would threaten the sanctity of the electoral process.²¹ Without opposing arguments, one might think that postregistration best practices would have been a salient topic both on Capitol Hill and in media coverage of attempts to repair the widely publicized shortcomings in our electoral system, highlighted by the 2000 Florida election. This was not the case. One of the numerous study groups that developed after 2000, The Constitution Project's Election Reform Initiative, recommended both of our informational best practices (Ornstein 2001), and these were also advocated in a Brookings Institution Policy Brief (Mann 2001). The widely-publicized Carter-Ford Commission was more circumspect; six of its 19 members recommended that sample ballots be mailed to registrants (National Commission on Federal Election Reform 2001, 78–9), a proposal that seems to have escaped media attention.

By the same token, the mandate for universal sample ballots in the 2001 Dodd-Conyers Bill (S 565 and HR 1170)—admittedly, not the most politically interesting aspect of this far-from-nonpartisan measure—was missing from the many stories about the unsuccessful bill in the *New York Times* and *CQ Weekly*. The major federal law enacted by the 107th Congress was the bipartisan Help America Vote Act (HAVA) of 2002. This statute, while weak on mandates, authorized \$3.9 billion in grants to states to improve their

electoral practices. HAVA suggested that mailing sample ballots and polling place location information would be appropriate actions of reform. By late September 2003, all 42 states in our analysis had posted draft state HAVA plans on their Web sites, each with a section dedicated to voter education activities. However, these tentative plans were typically vague about the educational content to be funded or they emphasized training on new voting machines. None of these 42 state HAVA plans specifically proposed any of the postregistration best practices we have analyzed.

CONCLUSION

As explanations of voter turnout begin to differentiate registration and voting (Jackson 1996; Timpone 1998), scholarly and political attention should expand to include policies that affect the participation of those who have registered to vote. We have identified three postregistration procedures that have a favorable effect on the turnout of registrants: mailing sample ballots to registrants, mailing polling place location information to registrants, and offering extended polling hours on election day.

While no demographic group appears to be distinctively advantaged by having more time to vote, postregistration best practices that provide information appear to be more effective in increasing the turnout of registrants who are either young adults or less educated. These findings support our hypothesis of the conditional effects of information, that providing information matters more for people who are less likely to acquire it elsewhere. Thus, receiving sample ballots in the mail is most consequential for people with less access to information, the least-educated and young registrants, while its effect shrinks to insignificance for college graduates. In addition, these best practices are less valuable to young adults still living with their parents, who can acquire this information more easily from older, more experienced people.

Postregistration policies do not directly affect the turnout of African American and Latino registrants when other demographic variables are controlled. But because, in the aggregate, these minorities are younger and less educated than whites, they are more likely to benefit from information about voting. Therefore, the wider use of postregistration best practices would have a disproportionately beneficial impact on black and Latino turnout. We estimate that universal implementation of longer polling hours and pre-election mailings would increase turnout of black registrants by 3.3 percentage points and Latino registrants by 4.3 points. Overall, we project that turnout of those registered to vote would increase by 2.8 percentage points if all states

adopted best practice postregistration procedures. These are substantial gains from adopting procedures that are neither risky nor expensive and should therefore attract little overt opposition.

APPENDIX

Table A1 reports our coding of state postregistration provisions for 2000. Six states (Idaho, Maine, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Wisconsin, and Wyoming) are excluded because they had election-day registration in 2000. We also excluded North Dakota, where voters were not required to register, and Oregon, which carried out the election by mail. See the text for a detailed description of our data sources and how we dealt with intrastate variation in postregistration provisions.

Table A1. State Postregistration Procedures, 2000

	Early Voting	Late Voting	Time Off Work (Private)	Time Off Work (State)	Poll Location Mailed	Sample Ballots Mailed
Alabama						
Alaska		✓	✓	✓		✓
Arizona	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Arkansas		✓	✓	✓		
California		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Colorado			✓	✓	✓	
Connecticut	✓	✓				
Delaware		✓		✓	✓	
Florida				✓		✓
Georgia			✓			
Hawaii			✓	✓	✓	
Illinois	✓		✓	✓		
Indiana	✓			✓		
Iowa		✓	✓	✓		
Kansas			✓	✓		
Kentucky	✓		✓	✓		
Louisiana	✓	✓		✓		
Maryland		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Massachusetts		✓				
Michigan		✓				
Mississippi						
Missouri	✓		✓	✓		
Montana		✓		✓		
Nebraska			✓	✓		
Nevada			✓	✓	✓	✓
New Jersey		✓		✓	✓	✓
New Mexico			✓	✓		
New York	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
North Carolina	✓	✓				

Table A1. Cont.

	Early Voting	Late Voting	Time Off Work (Private)	Time Off Work (State)	Poll Location Mailed	Sample Ballots Mailed
Ohio	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Oklahoma			✓	✓		
Pennsylvania		✓				
Rhode Island				✓		
South Carolina				✓		
South Dakota			✓	✓		
Tennessee			✓	✓		
Texas			✓	✓		
Utah		✓	✓	✓		
Vermont						
Virginia	✓					
Washington		✓				
West Virginia	✓	✓	✓	✓		

Note: See the text for a description of the procedures and sources for coding. Six states (Idaho, Maine, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Wisconsin, and Wyoming) are excluded because they had election-day registration in 2000. We also excluded North Dakota, where voters are not required to register, and Oregon, which carried out the election by mail.

Table 1 reports the logit parameter estimates of the impact on turnout in 2000 of those registered to vote. People in the eight states listed above were excluded from the analysis, as were those who voted by absentee ballot. Combined, these exclusions left 44,859 cases in our dataset. Explanations of the exclusions and coding of the contextual variables are in the text. Below are the codes we used for individual-level variables in the analysis:

Age: age in years

Family income: 1) <\$20k, 2) \$20–\$35k, 3) \$35–\$50k, 4) \$50–\$75k, 5) \$75k+

Residential stability: 1) <1 year at current address, 2) 1–2 years, 3) 3+years

Education: 1) less than high school, 2) high school diploma, 3) some college, 4) college graduate

ENDNOTES

This research was supported by grants from the Carnegie Corporation, the Ford Foundation, and the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) at the University of Maryland. We are grateful to the Institute of Governmental Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, for advancing funding for our data collection, as well as for painstaking administrative support. We obtained the Current Population Survey Voter Supplement File from the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research through the Institute of Governmental Affairs at the University of California, Davis. Previous portions of this article were presented at the 2002 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association and the 2002 and 2003 Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association.

1. Turnout in none of these permissive states comes close to matching that in any other democracy, except Switzerland (Mackie and Rose 1991, 509). Thus, American registration requirements, while an important cause of individual and interstate differences in voting, are not responsible for most of the international turnout gap.

2. The source for this figure is the Current Population Survey Voter Supplement, which is described in detail in the next section. The high point in turnout of registrants in a presidential election was 91 percent in 1992; the low was 83 percent in 1996. Readers need not suspect that these numbers are inflated by respondents' false claims. Nearly identical estimates were produced by the National Election Studies (NES) Vote Validation Studies back when the NES verified respondents' reports by inspecting official election records (Squire, Wolfinger, and Glass 1987). Calculating the turnout of registrants from official records by dividing the number of votes cast by the number of names on registration lists produces unrealistically low estimates because the latter number is inflated by the names of people who have died or, more likely, moved (Squire, Wolfinger, and Glass 1987, 46–7).

3. For a similar observation in the activist community, see Piven and Cloward 1988 (18).

4. As Jackson (1996) demonstrated, mobilization activities are more likely to be effective when they focus on those registered to vote since they are the only people who could respond to campaign appeals.

5. The choice of words in this sentence illustrates two of our data management decisions that differ from those made by the Census Bureau in its biennial reports on registration and voting. First, we deleted cases where information on registration and voting was not obtained, while the Census Bureau codes them as nonvoters. Second, our analysis is confined to citizens. Among other advantages, this precludes substantially underestimating the electoral participation of Latinos and Asian Americans and, overall, turnout in states such as California, where these groups are a significant part of the voting-age population but constitute a much smaller fraction of adult citizens (Citrin and Highton 2002).

6. The nonresponse rate for the basic November 2000 CPS was 7.5 percent, and an additional 5.8 percent failed to respond to the Voter Supplement (United States Department of Commerce 2001, 17–22).

7. Of the 2,982 people selected for its sample in 2000, the NES completed pre- and post-election interviews with only 1,555. Completion rates in 2000 for both surveys were lower than in the last decades of the 20th century, which averaged 95 percent for the CPS and 70 percent for the NES (Brehm 1993, 16).

8. This deletion was inconsequential; our substantive conclusions were the same with absentee voters included.

9. Because we were interested in the individual-level effect of having more time or information to vote, we coded our postregistration policy variables as whether or not a state carried out the postregistration procedure in 2000, regardless of the state's typical practices.

10. Presidential campaigns are designed to win a majority in the Electoral College. In 2000, strategic calculations yielded assumptions, apparently shared by both candidates, that some states were beyond hope for one party's presidential candidate. The remainder were "the battleground states, where both campaign organizations would concentrate the lion's share of their time, money, and effort . . . [M]any of the remaining states . . . would see little evidence that a presidential campaign was in progress" (Abramson, Aldrich, and

Rohde 2002, 32–3). This campaign strategy phenomenon and Jackson's (1996) mobilization findings led us to include in our multivariate model two measures of state-level campaign intensity: CNN designation as a battleground state and the presence of a concurrent senatorial or gubernatorial contest. The explanatory power of our model was not enhanced by including other potential measures of campaign intensity, such as vote margins, the number of electoral votes, or the extent of each party's campaign effort.

11. Two states provided 11 total voting hours and 18 kept their polls open for 12 hours. Eighteen more had polls that were open for 13 hours, while the rest allowed voting for 14 or 15 hours.

12. Cognizant of the issues raised by Nagler (1991, 1994), when we investigated the possibility of interaction effects, we included interaction terms rather than relying on the nonlinear functional form of the logit curve to produce them.

13. We could find no demographic category, such as employees working more than 40 hours a week or farmers, that benefited disproportionately from more time to vote. By the same token, the effect was not weaker for retirees or the unemployed.

14. Although we are primarily interested in the interaction effect (*time off work for private employees* \times *private employee*), we are at a loss to explain the negative coefficient for the main effect of "time off for private employees." In combination with the statistically insignificant value of the interaction term, this indicates that turnout of all registrants in states that require private employers to provide time off for voting is somewhat lower (Table 2). This suggests an unmeasured variable influencing the turnout of registrants, which our model does not include.

15. On the other hand, printing sample ballots in newspapers, a practice in 14 states, had no statistically discernible effect on the turnout of registrants in our sample (results not shown).

16. Restricting the sample to registrants with at least some college and re-estimating the turnout model yields p-values of .53 for the polling place information coefficient and .60 for the mailed sample ballots coefficient.

17. Sixteen percent of young adults and 66 percent of older citizens are married. Married young people are slightly less likely to vote (Stoker and Jennings 1995, 431–2; Highton and Wolfinger 2001, 206). Marriage was unrelated to any effect of postregistration variables in our dataset.

18. "There is no doubt that registration drives are an emotionally charged and even revered component of southern black politics, a component that may provide organizational strength, unity, identity, and motivation far beyond any actual increases in registrants and voters" (Vedlitz 1985, 644).

19. In 2001, the senior black member of the United States House of Representatives, John Conyers (D-MI), introduced a bill (HR 1170) whose provisions included a mandate to states to send sample ballots to all registrants.

20. This is largely due to the fact that California both is home to a disproportionate percentage of the nation's Latinos and mails sample ballots and polling place information to registrants.

21. On the other hand, many election administrators are concerned about recruiting people to work in polling places, a problem that would be exacerbated by a longer voting day. This concern led the Carter-Ford Commission to recommend that elections be held on a holiday (National Commission on Federal Election Reform 2001).

REFERENCES

- Abramson, Paul R., John H. Aldrich, and David W. Rohde. 2002. *Change and Continuity in the 2000 Elections*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Brehm, John. 1993. *The Phantom Respondents*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Burns, Nancy, Donald R. Kinder, Steven J. Rosenstone, Virginia Sapiro, and the National Election Studies. 2002. *American National Election Study, 2000: Pre- and Post-Election Survey* [computer file]. 2nd ICPSR version. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, Center for Political Studies [producer], 2001. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2002.
- Citrin, Jack, and Benjamin Highton. 2002. *How Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration Shape the California Electorate*. San Francisco, CA: Public Policy Institute of California.
- Cochran, John. 2001. "Election Overhaul Regains Spotlight with Introduction of Competing Bills to Assist States and Set Standards." *CQ Weekly* (May 19):1150.
- de la Garza, Rodolfo. 2001. "Promoting Equal Access to the Electoral System." In *The Mechanics of Election Reform: From Registration to Results*. Washington, DC: Consortium of Social Science Associations.
- Erikson, Robert S. 1981. "Why Do People Vote? Because They Are Registered." *American Politics Quarterly* 9:259–76.
- Glass, David P., Peverill Squire, and Raymond E. Wolfinger. 1983. "Voter Turnout: An International Comparison." *Public Opinion* 16 (December/January):49–55.
- Highton, Benjamin. 1997. "Easy Registration and Voter Turnout." *Journal of Politics* 59:565–75.
- Highton, Benjamin. 2004. "Voter Registration and Turnout in the United States." *Perspectives on Politics* 2:507–15.
- Highton, Benjamin, and Arthur L. Burris. 2002. "New Perspectives on Latino Voter Turnout in the United States." *American Politics Research* 30:285–306.
- Highton, Benjamin, and Raymond E. Wolfinger. 1998. "Estimating the Effects of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993." *Political Behavior* 20:79–103.
- Highton, Benjamin, and Raymond E. Wolfinger. 2001. "The First Seven Years of the Political Life Cycle." *American Journal of Political Science* 45:202–9.
- Jackson, Robert A. 1996. "A Reassessment of Voter Mobilization." *Political Research Quarterly* 49:331–49.
- Leighley, Jan E., and Jonathan Nagler. 1992. "Individual and Systemic Influences on Turnout: Who Votes? 1984." *Journal of Politics* 54:718–40.
- Mackie, Thomas T., and Richard Rose. 1991. *The International Almanac of Electoral History*. 3rd ed. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly.
- Mann, Thomas E. 2001. "An Agenda for Election Reform." *Brookings Policy Brief*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Nagler, Jonathan. 1991. "The Effect of Registration Laws and Education on U.S. Voter Turnout." *American Political Science Review* 85:1394–405.
- Nagler, Jonathan. 1994. "Scobit: An Alternative Estimator to Logit and Probit." *American Journal of Political Science* 38:230–55.
- National Commission on Federal Election Reform. 2001. *To Assure Pride and Confidence in the Electoral Process*. Charlottesville, VA: Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia.

- Ornstein, Norman. 2001. "Recommendations for Congressional Actions." In *The Constitution Project Election Initiative*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University.
- Piven, Frances Fox, and Richard A. Cloward. 1988. *Why Americans Don't Vote*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Rosenstone, Steven J., and John Mark Hansen. 1993. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. New York: Macmillan.
- Squire, Peverill, Raymond E. Wolfinger, and David P. Glass. 1987. "Residential Mobility and Voter Turnout." *American Political Science Review* 81:45-65.
- Stoker, Laura, and M. Kent Jennings. 1995. "Life Cycle Transitions and Political Participation: The Case of Marriage." *American Political Science Review* 89:431-3.
- Swift, Al. 1984. United States House of Representatives Committee on House Administration, Task Force on Elections, 98th Cong., 2nd sess., 21 March.
- Tate, Katherine. 1993. *From Protest to Politics*. New York and Cambridge, MA: Russell Sage Foundation and Harvard University Press.
- Teixeira, Ruy A. 1992. *The Disappearing American Voter*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Timpone, Richard J. 1998. "Structure, Behavior, and Voter Turnout in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 92:145-58.
- United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. 2001. *Current Population Survey: Voter Supplement File*, November 2000 [computer file]. Washington, DC: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census [producer], 2001. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2001.
- Vedlitz, Arnold. 1985. "Voter Registration Drives and Black Voting in the South." *Journal of Politics* 47:643-51.
- Wolfinger, Raymond E., and Steven J. Rosenstone. 1980. *Who Votes?* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.